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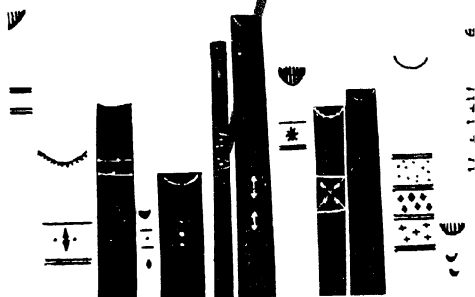
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Life & Writings of Joseph Mazzini

IN SIX VOLS.

VOL. V.—AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

JOSEPH MAZZINI

VOL. V.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL

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Autobiographical & Political.

THE documents contained in the present volume* relate to a period of Italian history rendered solemn and important both by glory and misfortune: a period fraught with errors and deceptions, but fruitful of instructive teaching to those capable of profiting by its lessons. The events of the years 1848 and 1849 may be regarded as the exemplification and verification of two opposing programmes: 1848 displays the sources of vitality and power contained in the royal programme, its tendencies and its results; 1849 reveals the tendency, results, vitality, and power of our own Republican programme.

All men may, and, for their country's sake, all men ought to, study us in the events of those two years.

I have said that these years are memorable not

* I have selected for insertion such only of the official acts of the Roman Republic as best indicate the different periods of its brief but glorious existence. The rest are to be found in the official collection.

only for their glories but for their deceptions. The last were unexpected and very grievous to me. Forgetful of our teachings, and of the adoration they had themselves professed for those principles which alone could bring salvation to Italy, the best men of our party—some of them very dear personal friends of my own—deserted our banner on the first appearance of a Power, or phantasm of power, in the field, and gave themselves up to a blind worship of the Force of *facts*.

With the exception of the very few so strongly tempered by nature as to be able not only to struggle, but, in case of failure, to endure the solitude of a life passed in the lonely world of faith and aspiration towards the future, the whole Republican party went astray ; became divided in a variety of distinct parties or sects, or wandered after ideas of hypocritical and inefficacious compromises and alliances between the representatives of opposite principles ; alliances in which the real aim of each was to deceive the other. The country forsook the noble traditions of our true Italian life, to follow those introduced amongst us in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by foreign domination, and by the unspeakable corruption of a Church no longer either Italian or Christian. Macchiavelli prevailed over Dante. And the mischief and disgrace brought upon us by the transformations that then took place among our Republicans, still endure.

I could, many perhaps will expect that I should, write an historic chapter in order to consign to the severe judgment of posterity many an act of weakness, still unexposed, which initiated that crisis of moral dissolution ; many a violation of solemn promises which has remained concealed ; many an ingratitude from men who owed to us their fame and much besides, but who, nevertheless, turned against us so soon as they discovered a path by which to rise.

But I shall not do this.

For various reasons of import to the welfare of my country, I cannot now relate the *whole* with regard to *all*, and the truths I could tell would therefore be, in a certain sense, unjust to those I should have to select. I shall therefore be silent as to these things, and limit myself to a rapid sketch of the successive events of the period ; some of which, hitherto overlooked or misunderstood, will, when placed in their true light, be of great value to that history of our National Principle which is the sole aim of my work.

Moreover, to what good purpose should I expose such things ? Why occupy myself with individuals ? their weakness, errors, or sins, arise from moral causes ; they are re-enacted at the present day, and will continually be repeated so long as the causes exist. These only it is important to destroy.

Successive generations either represent *ideas* or *interests*, according to their moral education. When they are governed by the first, we are enabled to foresee their actions, and to arrange our plans by a logical calculation of the degree of capacity and constancy they are likely to display. When they are governed by the last,—which, in their very nature, are variable from hour to hour,—all logic is mute.

The generation living and acting in 1848, had not—speaking generally—any other philosophy than the philosophy of *interests*;—personal interests in the most corrupt, the interests of party triumph, or of hatred of the enemy, in the best. Of faith in the future, or in an ideal, irrespective of the immediate advantage to be gained, they had none. We had hoped to inspire them with an enthusiastic faith in the great and beautiful, and we had deceived ourselves. Faith and duty are one: duty necessarily implies a source, an idea superior to Humanity—God. God was not, and, alas! is not in the heart of the century.

Italy was, and—if we except the good instincts which begin to manifest themselves in the working classes, of our cities especially—still is corrupted by the materialism which the merely analytic and negative philosophy of the last century has instilled into our daily practical life, habits, and method of viewing all human things.

The daring negations of the eighteenth century were directed against a dogma henceforth inefficacious, because it has remained inferior to the advanced intelligence of humanity ; their error lay in confounding one of the stages through which Religion has passed, with the great religious life of the world ; the *form* which the spirit had assumed for a time, with the spirit itself ; one period of revelation, with the whole eternal progressive Revelation of God to mankind ;—but at least they confined their assaults to the sphere of ideas, and human life still retained somewhat of its former unity.

At the present day we are governed, not by the *principles*, but by the *consequences* of that period of negation : we reduce its doctrine to practice, but have lost the warlike energy which distinguished the doctrine itself. A breath of religious fervour ran through that very rebellion against religion ; the men who abjured the God of the Christian world, uttered long hymns and apostrophies to a Goddess of Nature, and raised altars to a Goddess of Reason. In our own day, few, if any, would venture, if interrogated, to assert that there is no God ; but the greater number neither know nor care to know the import and bearing of belief in Him upon our human life ; nor realise how solemn and inevitable the series of consequences that follow from the acceptance of that idea. They are willing enough lightly to admit it, on condition of putting

it aside to lie idle and unfruitful in some obscure corner of the realm of abstractions.

The Moral Law—which is a *consequence* of the conception of God—the sanction of the Law in the future life of the individual ; the duty it imposes upon each of us ; the link it forms between earth and heaven, between action and belief—are things quite indifferent to the men of the present day. They have so parcelled out and dismembered the unity of Life ; so utterly lost the link which unites the ideal, defined by religion, to the external world which should be its representative and interpreter, that the empty phrase *a free church in a free state* has been hailed and accepted in our own day as a formula of high moral significance. That formula does in fact amount to nothing more than a declaration that our Law is Atheist ; that it matters not whether religion be good or evil, false or true ; it amounts to a proclamation of progress as the practice, and immobility as the theory ; a perennial anarchy between thought and action ; a freely-educated intellect, and an enslaved conscience. It would appear as if no one had as yet obtained a glimpse of the only true solution of the problem by such a transformation of the Church as would place it in harmony with the State, and enable it progressively and without tyranny to guide it upon the path of righteousness. Mankind, thus left without a Heaven, without any religious rule or con-

ception *prescriptive* of duty, and of the highest of all virtues, sacrifice ;—stripped of every immortal hope to sustain the individual, and of all enduring faith in the future of humanity, will always become the sport of instinct, passion, or interest, and unceasingly oscillate between them according to age or circumstance.

The generous impulses, poetic fervour, and enthusiasm natural to the young, in whom the movements of the heart are more spontaneous and less regulated by the outward world than in their elders, will urge them to rebel against all tyranny and unconsciously drive them into action. No sooner are their eager aspirations and gilded illusions about men and things destroyed by the cold prosaic realities of actual life, and by the inevitable deceptions, persecutions, and defeats which embitter their path, than doubt comes upon them, and a feeling of lassitude tending to persuade them of the impossibility of the struggle ;—after these follows the egotism which bids them—since the life of the future is unknown—seek enjoyment here below.

It is at these moments that the proposal of some plan which does not deny, but only dismember or postpone the true programme, is accepted ; that the first apparition of a Force, or semblance of force—belonging to a different camp it is true, but assuming to assail the same foe—is

hailed as a means of achieving the aim in view with less of sacrifice and risk.

The mind, thus destitute of any faith to sustain it and awaken a sense of its own power—if need be—to *create* circumstances, would even yet, perhaps, reject the idea of positive desertion ; but it is easily won over to those compromises which pave the way to it. The soul that has once entered upon the path of *Macchiavellism* and hypocritical concession, becomes darkened ; it acquires a habit of calculation, and undergoes a transformation—more or less rapid—of its very nature ; of which it is only conscious when already incapable of the virtue of repentance. Then, irritated by the censure of others, it persists, partly through pride and partly through self-interest, in the error it at first only accepted.

Such is the history of the generation which has changed both party and flag between 1847 and the present year : a history which will be constantly renewed so long as we are disinherited of faith in God and in duty. I often repeat this, because I know that the source of every evil and error is in this. The people of Italy may be fashioned into the semblance of a nation, but it can never be made a Nation in the true sense of the word, great and powerful for action, conscious of its mission and resolute to fulfil it, except through re-education in religion ; such a religion as the intellectual progress

achieved, combined with the tradition of Italian Thought, when rightly studied, alone can give us.

Such was the moral, or rather immoral state of things in Italy from which the *Moderate* Party arose. It was composed partly of men—like Farini—who had formerly conspired with us, but had grown weary of a path upon which they encountered danger and persecution at every step; and partly of men—like D'Azeglio—in whom an aristocratic aversion to democracy and to the people was in-born; and lastly, of those narrow and timid souls dwarfed by the traditions of their own little Piedmont, and incapable of comprehending any political conception not centering in a king, a court, and a regular army.

The antecedents of the Party were anything but glorious. It was the *Moderates* who applauded the return of the Austrians in 1814; it was the *Moderates* who in 1821 subjected the Piedmontese insurrection to the Prince* who betrayed it; and it was the Moderates who in 1831 destroyed the movement of the Roman States, first, by their anti-national application of the theory of *non-intervention* between one Italian province and another;

* Charles Albert, then Prince of Carignano.

and afterwards by the cowardly capitulation of Ancona.

These, however, were only the acts of individuals lacking revolutionary logic and capacity, such as are to be met with in all great national crises: the *Moderates* were not then organised and constituted into a Party.

It is true that a society had already been formed at Brussels, in opposition to the *Giovine Italia*, calling itself the *Veri Italiani*, and composed of adherents of the Piedmontese monarchy, grouped around a nobleman named Arconati, which busied itself in endeavouring to spread the notion that the Italians must fix their hopes upon the dynasty of Savoy. But it was rejected by the good instincts of the people, and, thanks to our apostolate, soon abandoned by the best men among them; so that, although it continued to drag on awhile in obscurity, secretly spreading false accusations against the Republicans, and sowing seeds of dissension in the Liberal camp, it had neither followers nor influence. The *Moderates* made no attempt formally to constitute themselves into a Party, and to substitute their influence for ours, until after the unfortunate expedition of the brothers Bandiera.

That enterprise, which they dishonestly attributed to our Party, and especially to me, had undoubtedly spread discouragement and distrust in our ranks. Circumstances were not favourable to

action, and I thought it necessary to let some time elapse, during which our ideas and teachings might gradually penetrate from the youth of our middle class to the working-men of our cities at least.

The links of our association had become somewhat loosened, and I now limited myself to maintaining points of contact here and there—in Lombardy especially—with certain groups of young men, voluntarily but no longer formally united in a purpose of National Apostolate, and to keeping constantly on the watch to seize any favourable moment—should such arise—for doing better.

The *Moderates* took advantage of this period of enforced inaction on our part, and of lassitude in others.

They were men who, however much they might preach about Christianity and Religion, were in fact educated in the materialist scepticism of the eighteenth century, and the philosophy of modern French Eclecticism. Their very name was significant. They styled themselves *Moderates*, as if in the then dismembered state of Italy, when the question was between existence and annihilation, between the future Nation and the petty Princedoms, which, under the wing of Austria, contested that Nation's development, there could exist a middle course.

The problem this Party proposed to solve was *the reconciliation of impossibilities*; liberty with

Princedom, Nationality with dismemberment, strength with uncertainty and disunion in the direction of the movement.

No class of men could have solved such a problem; the *Moderates* less than any other. They consisted of writers of talent, but lacking the inspiration of genius; furnished with a certain amount of Italian erudition acquired from books, but unendowed with the guiding power and vivifying light of synthesis. They understood nothing of that work of moral fusion which had been silently elaborated in Italy during the last three centuries. They had no sense of our Italian mission, no sympathy with the people, whom they believed to be corrupted, but who were better than they, and from whom they were held apart by traditional mistrust, by their habits of life, and by the instincts, still strong in them, of patrician or literary aristocracy.

By this moral and intellectual separation from the sole progressive element, the people, destined ruler of the future life of nations, they were shut out from all true prescience or faith in regard to the future. Their historic ideas wavered between Guelphism and Ghibellinism. Their political conception, much as they endeavoured to clothe it with an Italian dress, did not reach beyond the ideas introduced into France by Montesquieu, adopted by Mounier, Malouet, Lally Tollendal, and

others of the same class in the National Assembly, and reduced to a system by the men who directed public opinion in that country during the fifteen years which followed the return of Louis XVIII.

They were Royalists willing to admit a certain infusion of liberty; enough, and not more than enough to make monarchy tolerable; ready to assert for themselves the right of publishing their own opinions, and of taking their seats in a Constitutional Assembly; but without extending the same liberty to the masses, through fear of awakening in them an idea of rights which they detested, and of duties for which they had no reverence.

The *Moderates* had indeed no belief. They had not any faith in the monarchical principle, like that inspired in days of old by the notion of a *Right Divine* embodied in certain families; or by the chivalric affection for the individual, which placed the monarch between God and the beloved one—“*My God, my King, and my lady love.*” Theirs was the passive, inert acceptance, without affection or veneration, of a *fact* which existed before their eyes, and of which they did not attempt any examination. It was the result of moral cowardice and of a blind fear of the people, to whose upward movement they desired to oppose monarchy as a barrier; of a dread of the inevitable conflict between the aristocratic and popular elements, which they

felt themselves unable to dominate or direct. They feared also that Italy was not strong enough to regain by her own popular forces even that small portion of independence from the foreigner, which was all they—whose sole merit was a sense of Italian honour—cared to claim.

They put forth their councils with a great assumption of gravity and importance; with an air of authority, of profound and far-seeing intellect; counsels and theories derived from quite other times; from periods of normal development, from men occupied in merely parliamentary struggles, from citizens of nations already formed;—but which they propounded to a people, who on the one side possessed nothing, and on the other had everything to win—existence, unity, independence, and liberty. To their eunuchs' voices the people responded by the roar and bound of the lion; driving out the Jesuits, insisting upon the institution of the Civic Guard and publicity of debate, and wresting constitutions from their princes, whilst the *Moderates* were recommending silence and abstinence from supplication, *that the paternal hearts of their masters might not be afflicted.*

They called themselves *practical*, positive men; they ought to have been called the *Arcadians* of the political world.

Their first public manifestation took place in 1845. In the midst of the excitement and agitation

which had become the normal condition of the Romagna, an insurrection was heard of in Rimini, during which they displayed a white flag. If this nameless banner was intended to symbolise their utter absence of all political ideas, it certainly bore a sense which has since become historical. As, however, it was necessary to give some motive to the movement, in order to gain over the population to action, a *manifesto* followed the banner. This was a pale mutilated reproduction of the *memorandum* which had been fruitlessly presented to the Pope by the Five Powers in 1831. In this manifesto, the notion of small local movements was substituted for the idea of a great national movement, and the vital questions of unity and liberty were set aside for local, administrative, and economical reform.

I know that the greater number of the leaders of the *Moderate* party really had at heart—I will not say the liberty of Italy, for which they care but little—but her independence, the national question of the expulsion of the foreigner. But I say that the method they adopted was calculated to make men despair of its achievement for an indefinite period, and to divert the education of the people from the aim which we had unceasingly set before them.

I say that many of those leaders did not even desire Unity; none of them believed it possible.

And I say that had our princes been more clear-sighted, and not urged on by that fateful force of things which, happily, hurried them to their fall ;— had they, in fact, but accepted the mutilated programme of the *Moderates*, we should not now have acquired a national unity of twenty-two millions ; but Italy would still be composed of the old mosaic of large and small kingdoms more or less falsely and hypocritically allied.

Such alliances between the petty sovereignties were the ideal of all the thinkers of the party, from Balbo to Cavour. Giacomo Durando preached the doctrine of *the three or five Italies*, to be founded by the voluntary consent of the Princes. Mamiani was the centre of a *Federative* Apostolate in Genoa. Gioberti wrote to Pietro Santarosa on the 16th March 1847, proposing to “obtain by remonstrance from Austria a change of policy in Lombardy, so that when once *pacified* by gentleness and reforms, it might gradually receive a definitive organisation, to be agreed upon by the powers.” Only a short time previous to Garibaldi’s descent upon Naples, Cavour was still proposing compacts and alliances with the Bourbon.

The total absence of all belief in UNITY in the *Moderate* party is a documentary *fact*, which will be registered in the first impartial history of the period that shall be written ; nor will the Macchiavellian boastings of days posterior to the achieve-

ment of Unity by the Italian People, avail to cancel this fact from its pages.

And another fact,—a consequence of this first fact,—which has hitherto been too much overlooked, will also be recorded by history, and serve as the basis of a right understanding of the events of this period. I speak of the perennial duality that existed between the action of the popular element, which was entirely *ours*, and was the sole cause of every important progress,—and the influence exercised by the *Moderates* to nullify or divert such movements from their true aim. To hear them at the present day, one might imagine it was they who created Italy, and were the cause of all the progress made during the last fifteen years.

But when Time, and Italy grown wiser, shall have imposed silence upon the empty clamour of hireling journalists, on the unblushing calumnies and equally unblushing laudations of the present day,—facts and inexorable *dates* will declare that, with the single exception of the Papal amnesty, every concession wrung from our Princes, and every step in advance made by the Nation, originated in the action—*invariably* opposed in the first instance by the *Moderates*—of the People in their *street movements*, as that party scornfully termed them.

It was to *émeutes* in Leghorn, Romagna, and Rome, that we owed an increase of liberty of the press, and the institution of the National Guard.

It was the signing of collective petitions by the people upon tables set out in the streets of Genoa, and their subsequent attacks upon the convents, which determined the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Sardinian States. It was the insurrection in Sicily which gave us the Constitutions (*statuti*) ; the "Five Days" of Milan which brought about the war of independence, afterwards so miserably betrayed ; as at a later period—in the second stage of the Italian movement—it was the resistance of the people to the Federalist designs of Louis Napoleon, our preparations for an expedition upon Rome, and the Sicilian insurrection, followed by the enterprise of Garibaldi, that brought about the annexation of the centre, the invasion of the Marche, and the emancipation of the South.

None of these things were aided, nor even approved, by the *Moderates*. They blamed each and all of them at the time ; but, after success, they applauded and took the credit of them to themselves. The People, which is not ambitious, allowed them to assume the merit of the conquests it had itself achieved by our methods—methods which it had followed through instinct rather than reflection ; and as the *Moderates* had always been artfully profuse of mysterious promises and prophecies of coming good, they thus contrived, when the work was done, to remain masters of the field, and to cull the fruits of the victory.

The aim of the *Moderates* had never been that of achieving one sole government for Italy ; but only to win over the several governments : they did not address themselves to her people, but to her Princes : they sought not to promote an unitarian insurrection ; but to bring about a gradual improvement in the institutions of the *separate* states, by a slow progressive movement from above downwards : they rejected the aid of secret associations and the clandestine press, and attempted only to obtain some homœopathic doses of liberty through the medium of servile adulation, by flattering and caressing the various existing governments. As to the problem of Austria and Venetian-Lombardy, they had formed no sort of conception or plan for its solution ; and the political philosophers of the sect limited themselves to prophesying that the question would be arranged, whenever the opportune moment should arise, by means of atomic confederations, and an Arcadian notion of the conversion of Kings and Princes to the doctrine of devotedness to the wellbeing of the people.

When, however, the popular excitement was no longer to be repressed ; when the blood of our martyrs, which had sunk like some volcanic agent into our Italian soil, burst forth again in eruption, they gladly accepted the results, and smilingly gave it to be understood that they had long been looking forward to and anticipating those move-

ments, as a consequence of their judicious endeavours.

Our people, politically uneducated and ignorant of the why and wherefore, have not sufficient understanding of the causes of events to enable them rightly to follow out and comprehend their development: they cared little to whom the merit was due, and willingly accepted as their leaders those who most vehemently claimed the right to be such. They too readily confounded cause and effect, and when they were unceasingly assured that what was in fact their own work, was really owing to the *Moderate Party's* having won over a Pope to bless them, or a King who only awaited *the rising of the star*, and who wore the *sword of Italy*, they applauded with the glad thoughtlessness of children; but their applause was given—this at least their own good instincts and the lessons of the past had taught them—not to the idea of Papacy or Monarchy, but to Pius IX. and Charles Albert. Meanwhile the *Moderates* took possession of power and seated themselves in all the high places of the political sphere.

It is, however, impossible to violate logic with impunity. Every error carries with it an inevitable series of consequences. Every lie promulgated and accepted among the people generates an amount of immorality which undermines the energy and virtue of the national heart. And, indeed, I

fear that the worst result of the supremacy of the *Moderates* will be to superimpose a new stratum of immorality to the mass which tyranny, cowardice, Jesuitism, and materialism combined, have already accumulated upon the heart of Italy.

A deep-seated immorality does in fact lie at the root of the theory and system of the *Moderates*. The eternally *True* is constantly sacrificed to the wretched *reality* of the passing day ; the future, to the brief present ; the worship of principles, to the imaginary utility of the actual moment ; God, to the temporary Idol elevated by force, egotism, or fear. Neither earnest belief, strong affections, nor noble anger can strike root in their weak and vacillating minds, perpetually oscillating between Machiavelli and Loyola ; irresponsive to every great idea, unenlightened by profound study or serious instruction, abhorrent of the straightforward path, and wholly made up of compromises, fictions, makeshifts, and hypocrisy.

The chiefs of the party, with the self-same lips that in their "*Congresses*" had compared the King of Naples to the *Olympian Jove*, hailed Charles Albert as a *miracle*, and Pius IX.* as a *New Re-*

* The following, though by no means one of the most exaggerated of the panegyrics showered upon the Pope at this period by the *Moderates*, is nevertheless worth quoting as a mild example, because written by a man whose education and intelligence should have rendered him incapable of such gross adulation.

"He has constituted himself the Prophet not only of his own

deemer, whispered to us: *All these things are but a necessity of the times ; in reality we are with you.*

. We beheld them insolent with the weak and timidly cringing to the strong ; entering into compacts which they never intended to maintain, now with the princes and now with the people, as it served their turn ; professing their reverence for the Pope, whilst they were labouring to destroy him ; professing themselves the allies of Louis Napoleon, whilst they hated him as only those who know themselves trampled upon through their own cowardice can hate ; and conspiring with and against Garibaldi at one and the same time, so as to secure their own safety at least in any event.

I do not assert that all who pursued the tortuous policy of the Moderates, so unworthy of men assuming to be the Educators of the people, were people, but of all Christian civilisation : he declares to us its future destiny : I am unworthy to mingle my voice with that of the most high Pontiff which diffuses itself, the annunciator of justice, over the whole world whose words alone are in themselves more powerful than all the ancient legions put together, and have, in a few days, completed the great enterprise which it cost the arms of Rome so many centuries to achieve, the conquest of the world.”—D’AZEGLIO.

And yet but one year before D’Azeglio had written : “ Even should the Papal throne be ascended by a man gifted with high wisdom and statesmanship, and with sufficient virtue to use them for the public good without regard to his own advantage ; if such a Pope were resolutely to attempt to reform the abuses which are of profit to so many they would not allow him to do so, and the smallest evil that could befall such a Pope would be that of being unable to produce any good.”—TRANSLATOR.

or are impelled by the mean ambition of obtaining the rank of Senator or Counsellor of State. Many of them were then, and have since remained, independent. But both the mind and heart of the party are corrupted by the absence of any religious conception; by the numbness of the moral sense which is the consequence of such want, by the torpor of the faculties consequent upon their being abandoned to the sole guidance of analysis, producing a state of mental and moral anarchy which leaves them a prey to every unregulated impulse awakened by the changing circumstances of the day, by every trifling fact or semblance of a fact.

When Salvagnoli said to Brofferio: *We must just get along how we can; and besides, it is impossible to govern with the truth*, he summed up the whole theory of the party; even as the *Moderates* by hailing Gioberti as the most powerful thinker, the philosopher of Italy, gave posterity a fair measure of their intellectual capacity and philosophical ideal.

No: Gioberti, the high-priest of the sect, was no philosopher, and the fact that he was generally accepted as such is a sufficient indication of the wretched pass which philosophical study has reached in Italy.

Philosophy is an affirmation of the human individuality during the interval that elapses between the passing away of one religious synthesis and

the advent of a new one ; it is the result of the sum of knowledge and intelligence possessed by the actual world, illumined by the rays of the future ; a determinate criterion of truth, founded upon the universal tradition of the past, and leading to an equally determinate method of discovering and foreseeing the future. Gioberti had no true understanding of past tradition, nor had he any intuition—none will deny this at the present day—of the epoch in course of evolution.

The man who started from the doctrines of Giordano Bruno, only to lose himself in a neo-guelphian conception of an Italian Primacy to be achieved through the Papacy ;—who hailed the formula of *God and the People* with enthusiasm, only to abandon it for a sort of whitewashed Catholicism ;—who thundered against the artificer of Jesuitism from the lofty heights of philosophic conscience, only to make the Jesuit method the very mainspring of his own system, so soon as he entered upon the arena of practical politics ;—who journeyed from city to city to preach a crusade in favour of a monarchy he despised, flattering each in turn, from Pontremoli to Milan, as the first city in Italy ;—who said to me at Paris in 1847 : *I know we differ upon religious matters, but, good God ! my Catholicism is so elastic you may put anything you like into it*, was no more of a philosopher than a believer. With talents rapid, various, and facile ;

well supplied with a sort of second-hand erudition ; capable of eloquence, though rather of phrases than ideas ; possessed of greater fervour of imagination than warmth of heart ; neither ambitious, nor greedy of wealth or power, but vain, irritable, and intolerant of opposition,—Gioberti yielded to his impatience of success and to the natural *objectivity* of a mind extremely susceptible to the influence of external circumstances, and forsook the serene unchanging height of philosophy to accommodate himself to them.

He did not direct, he reflected the movement of events, and finding that the age was—as I have said—corrupted and immoral, he adapted himself to the age. He—like Balbo and Azeglio—was one of the earliest among the unconscious corruptors of the young generation.

Balbo inculcated Catholic resignation, and induced men to distrust the collective strength of the country ; Azeglio infected our middle class with that materialism which is the servile adorer of the *fait accompli*, and planted the germs of a dangerous *militarism* amongst us. Gioberti dressed up the immoral doctrine of *opportunism* and expediency in the cloak of philosophy, and clothed irreverence for ideas in the garb of an idea. He it was—and this is a far graver fault—who first introduced the atrocious weapon of political calumny into the Liberal camp, and cast the insane accusation of

supporters of Austria upon the Republicans and other dissentients from the ideas of the kingdom of Northern Italy, of enforced *fusions*, of *National* wars which were to exclude the Trentino and Trieste,—upon all, in short, whose ideas differed from his own.

The events of 1848 and 1849 are a sufficient commentary upon what I have written above; but before entering upon the history of those two years, it is well, for the sake of the few Republicans who remained constant and unshaken during that period of trial and deception, to prove how clearly we had foretold the course taken by events, and to show the principles by which our conduct during that time was directed.

For a long time previous to the species of delirium which took possession of men's minds in '47, I had perceived symptoms of a growing indecision, a wavering between the two principles (Monarchical and Republican), and exerted myself to combat the evil in my correspondence. As early as 1834 I addressed a letter to Leopardi, a member of the Neapolitan Committee, whom I had known as a Republican in '33 but who, already hesitating and uncertain after the failure of the attempt in Savoy, became a declared Monarchist in 1848, and wrote a book (now forgotten) containing many falsehoods about our party and myself.

[In this letter Mazzini urges Leopardi to re-

nounce all idea of even a temporary compromise between the Republican and Monarchical principles, and points to the universal Republican tendency visible in every progressive movement throughout Europe. He declares that the first revolutionary movements in France and Germany are destined to be Republican ; that Switzerland is daily becoming more democratically such, and that no revolutionary movement undertaken in Italy with a Monarchico-Constitutional aim can be final ; but will only necessitate further movements. The popular symbol is, he says, the only symbol having power to give Unity to Italy. Constitutional Monarchy, by necessitating the creation of an Aristocracy, will run the risk of sowing the seeds of a terrible civil war. He then proves the impossibility of any durable federation between rival and hostile princes, who will never form any *sincere* league, except *against* the people. Moreover, the business of the Liberal party is not merely to change the actual condition of Italy, but to regenerate her ; to make of the Italians a great people ; and an enslaved people can only be redeemed through their *own* action, valour, and sacrifice. The corrupting effects of the Constitutional system have been clearly shown in France by the results of the *fifteen years' farce*.

Mazzini then goes on to show that Italy can expect no help from the Governments of Europe.

France and Spain represent only the cunning and treachery of Governments from which concessions have been wrung by fear; Russia is the representative of ferocious despotism. Italy must either make alliance with the peoples or stand alone.

England is not now destined to play an influential or active part in Europe: the great question in England during the next half-century will be the internal struggle, constantly though silently going on between the principle of Aristocracy and the People. Spain has recently made some apparent concessions; but she has neither honesty at home nor influence abroad. Louis Philippe dare not go to war; he is doomed to constantly-increasing danger from the Republicans, and his only supporters—the *juste milieu*, the bourgeoisie—are sworn to peace. The hopes the Italians cherish in Louis Philippe are utterly illusory; he is the *Tartuffe* of the alliance of Kings. Austria is the sworn foe of even constitutional progress in Italy; and even could it be honestly attempted in the separate little kingdoms, she would crush them one by one. Unity alone will render internal progress durable; and true unity,—both moral and political,—is only possible in the hypothesis of a Republic.]

Thirteen years later, when the enthusiasm of the Italians for Pius IX. had reached the verge of madness, Montanelli, a good but weak man, who had been fascinated by the ideas of Young Italy,

the Saint Simonians, the neo-Catholics and Gioberti, etc. etc., in turns, wrote wonders to me about the transformation of the Papacy and the reconciliation of the Catholic dogma with the progress of the human mind, and insisted upon having my opinion on the subject. I wrote to him . . . "In the impossibility of re-creating a *faith* in a dogma which is now essentially at variance with the irrevocable progress of the human mind, urged on to the discovery of new worlds by God the Father and Educator,—you will have nothing left but bare morality, and I know well that morality alone, without a dogma and a Heaven to support it, cannot afford any vital and lasting source of inspiration to humanity. . . You would be wrong were you to imagine that I am withheld from joining you by any intolerant or exclusive worship of democratic republican principles. The democratic republican future,—not in the manner of the United States, but far otherwise religious, and founded upon a principle of authority rightly understood,—appears to me to be so inevitable, so intimately linked with the providential design revealed in the historic progress of humanity, that I feel no need of intolerance. . . . If, at the present day, therefore, the best men of our nation were to rally round a Pope or King, hailing him as the initiator of its future destiny, and that Pope or King were to initiate it indeed,—I would be the first to forget that that King has

torn from me my best and dearest friend, and that that Pope is the representative of a creed, or, more correctly, the record of an authority, against which my whole soul rebels; and I would follow the banner he raised, sacrifice for it both blood and life, and persuade my friends to do the same. . . . But where is the banner you would have me support? The only banner I recognise is the banner of the Nation, of *Unity*. For *this* I would renounce for a time whatsoever device I might desire to see inscribed upon our flag, but this I can never renounce: I should believe myself unfaithful to God, my country, and my own soul."

"I know not whether you are personally acquainted with the Pope, and have therefore gained in private conversation that faith in him which I could only gain from facts. But facts, hitherto, have shown me nothing more than a well-disposed man, and a Prince, who, partly from the necessity created by the threatening aspect of the times, and partly from goodness of heart, has been willing to try whether, by governing his subjects a little better, with a little more toleration and affection, he could not put an end to the conspiracies and insurrections which have now become a permanent condition of things in his dominions. . . . I have kept silence for fear of hindering any possible projects unknown to me, but meanwhile I have carefully studied the words and acts both of the

Pope himself and of our *Moderate* writers. For the last I have frequently had occasion to blush ; but in the Pope, I repeat, I see nothing but a well-disposed man, without any real belief, wavering between the influence of Austria and his own tendencies ; but without any of those Italian intentions which others have been determined to see in his first acts. If I am wrong, the first *fact* will correct me, and I am quite ready to be convinced. But in the absence of any such fact, what is the banner of Pius IX.? where is the *Italian* flag, without which I see no possibility of any efficacious union? I am getting older, and cannot easily become enthusiastic about dreams—dreams, too, which might become dangerous.”

“I cannot approve the tactics you suggest ; but before explaining my reasons, I wish you to understand that my non-approval does not spring from any spirit of conspiratorial liberalism. Conspiracy is not, in my view, a principle ; it is merely a melancholy *fact*—an indispensable necessity of the actual state of things. My own individual disposition leans to publicity in all things. . . . *Young Italy*, from the first, was in open opposition to old *Carbonarism*, and its method of conducting all matters secretly. Nothing was done in secret amongst us, except such things as it was impossible to achieve publicly ; but we displayed our banner plainly aloft, and assumed the position of preachers

of principles from the first. And if any one now will show me a method of *openly* preaching national unity in Italy, I will bless his name, and instantly repair thither. But any preaching which does not begin and end with that one word UNITY, I consider not merely negatively useless, but positively harmful. I cannot accept the strategy you suggest, because it does not lead to that sole aim, and only tends to the possible acquirement of administrative or legal reforms; or the concession of an homœopathic dose of liberty in each of the many states into which we are divided, but will never unite them into *one* Nation. Such methods—were we all to use them—might turn the minds of the various populations from the true aim, by inducing them to seek to ameliorate their position under the actual governments, and so afford a vent for that pent-up energy, which otherwise may in time produce a *National* explosion; or they might even sow the seeds of new federalistic divisions and local vanities, and generate a Macchiavellian spirit of tactics, where what we want is earnest and sincere belief, and virtue. . . .”

Again, on the 3d January '48, I wrote to Filippo de Boni—“. . . . Two things at least are plain enough—the retrogression of the Pope, and the wretched mismanagement of the *Moderates*. We have been silent, we have given way to the utmost possible degree, but it is of no avail.”

The Pope having failed them, they are now going mad about the *First Captain in Italy, the hero of Trocadero*; and when he fails them, they will go mad about the Grand Duke, or God knows whom. How can one hope the regeneration of Italy from a party which shouts: *Long live the King of Naples*, after the atrocities of Messina and Reggio, and draws up petitions to that blood-stained king; a party which sought to teach us through its organ, the *Risorgimento*, that the idea of the Unity of Italy was absurd, illegal, fatal; a party whose journals are already seeking a method of compromise with Austria, and insinuating that even the condition of the Lombardo-Venetian States will be *improved*; a party which is false even to itself; members of which profess themselves *Unitarian*, and yet undertake to teach the people the advantages of *federalism*, with a view—as they declared in one of the late *League* meetings in Genoa—of afterwards educating them to unity?”

“ . . The Pope had my letter in September, and I have consented to allow it to be printed, because I thought that it might, on the one hand, illustrate more forcibly the actual contrast between his duty and his conduct, and on the other, tend to support our principle of Unity. Notwithstanding all my aversion to Charles Albert as the executioner of my best friends, and the contempt I feel for his weak and cowardly nature—notwith-

standing all the democratic yearnings of my own heart—yet, could I believe him possessed even of sufficient true ambition to enable him to *unite* Italy for his own advantage—I would cry Amen ! . . . I saw your name in the list of the writers in the *Concordia*. I could wish you were to be the editor. Valerio is one of the best men I know in Turin, but he is in eminent danger of falling into that political sentimentality created by some of the Neo-Catholics, which pardons all and embraces all alike, Kings and Princes, Federalists and Unitarians, and strives to achieve the resurrection of Italy in Arcadia. . . .”

During the interval between this letter and the one already quoted to Montanelli, I had written my letter to Pius IX. That letter has been brought forward against me by men resolved to put me in the wrong, as a proof, if not of political swerving, at least of credulity as to the good intentions of the Pope. Those who thus criticise it, either have not read it, or have read it with a determination to find me to blame. Had I not adopted the form I did, not a single man would have read the letter at that time : the substance of it was to declare to Pius :—

“A new epoch is dawning upon us ; a new faith is gradually being substituted for the old. The new faith will not accept any *privileged* inter-

preters between the people and their God. If, availing yourself of the enthusiasm by which you are now surrounded, you assume the position of *initiator* of this epoch and of this faith, you must descend from the Papal throne, and go forth among the multitudes, an Apostle of Truth, like Peter the Hermit preaching the Crusades. The people will hail you as their chief, and found in Italy a State which will cancel the atheistic formula which declares that *the inward man is to be governed by God's law and love, and the outward by force*; and accept and adore the doctrine which declares that *the inward and outward man, the soul and body are one, and on the law by which they are governed.*"

To the Italians the letter declared:—Pius IX. must be *this*, before he can regenerate or create Italy: now, do you believe him to be this?

If the letter was not understood in that sense by those who read it, the fault was not mine; and they who, having so often raved in honour not only of the Pope, but of others, now elevate themselves into puritanical critics of my past, are too puerile to deserve that I should take the trouble to defend myself from their attacks.

Six months after he had received my letter, Pius IX., by his Encyclica of the 29th April 1848, solemnly gave the lie to the hymns of adoration of the Neo-Guelphs, and the dreams of the *Moderates*. However, anything is easier to such as they than

learning wisdom by experience. The Neo-Guelphs instantly transformed themselves into Ghibellines. The *Moderates*, who had deserted our ranks to declare that the sole method of salvation for Italy was the union of the pastoral crook with the sword, now deserted again to declare that the *Sword of Italy* alone sufficed. The people, meanwhile, had, in March 1848, unsheathed the only sword really able to save Italy, in Venetian-Lombardy, and, shortly before then, in Sicily. The very first flash of that sword in Sicily had converted our Princes to the constitutional régime, and obtained far more than all the adulatory tactics of the *Moderates* during a whole year. The second flash of that sword in Milan had spread terror in the ranks of an army until then believed invincible, and liberated nearly the whole soil of Italy from the foreigner.

True force was evidently on the side of the people. Had the *Moderates* but comprehended this and said to the people:—*Forward: this enterprise is your own*; to our Princes: *As allies all: but as masters none*; and to Europe: *We are determined that Italy shall be united, free, and powerful; when once the battle of independence is won, a National Assembly shall meet in Rome to decide on the future form of the government of Italy*,—it would have been enough to ensure the settlement of the question in a manner worthy of us. An insurrectional and war government—

the nucleus of which already existed in the committee of the *Five Days* of Milan,—combining the Venetian and Lombard elements, and calling upon the Sicilian and some other elements to join with it, might, with such a programme, have united Italy even at that time.

But the Moderates, who had opposed the Lombard insurrection to the last day as *impossible*,—who, when urged and entreated by our party, had only contributed the wretched sum of seven thousand francs during the whole preparatory agitation, and had perpetually oscillated between attempts at conciliation with Austria and useless secret intrigues with the Piedmontese monarchy,—no sooner saw the movement triumphant, than they seized upon the leadership of it. The committee of the Five Days yielded up the power in their hands, in careless disdain, to a provisional government they despised; and the young men who had foreseen, prepared and led the popular movement upon the barricades, being modest, inexperienced, and content with the glorious deeds achieved, retired from the arena precisely when it was most important to remain at their post.

All of these young men were ours; nearly all of them were from the ranks of *young Italy*. Ours, also, friends of mine, and in communication with me, were, Mora, Burdini, Romolo Griffini, poor Pezzotti, Carlo Clerici, De Luigi, Ercole Porro,

Daverio, Bachi, Ceroni, Antonio Negri, Bonetti, Pietro Maestri, and all of those who formed the little band which, acting in concert with Carlo Cattaneo, had educated the people in abhorrence of the foreigner, disseminated popular writings, diffused liberal ideas, taught the youth of Italy their power, and directed the progressive agitation which awakened in the masses the conception of the movement, and decided them to attempt it precisely when the news of imperial concessions arrived. All of these, I repeat, were ours, and it is well to name them and declare this here, since none have ever named them or declared it.

To this nucleus of young Republicans belonged Emilio Visconti Venosta, now a member of the ministry, and also one Cesare Correnti, a man of considerable intellectual capacity, but corrupted by scepticism and destitute of all faith in principles, of whose moral ruin I shall presently have to speak.

Some even of the good amongst these men had allowed themselves to be seduced by the intrigues of the monarchical party shortly before the movement took place, and, unknown to the rest, had lowered themselves so far as to enter into compacts with Turinese busybodies, who made them lying promises of assistance because they foresaw the possibility of the insurrection, and thought of seizing the direction of it in case of success. All of them erred,—and I mark the error because it is

the usual error, which leads almost every insurrection astray—by attempting to *pre-establish* a government.

Every insurrectionary government should be the offspring of the insurrection itself, and composed of those who have shown themselves alike the boldest and wisest guides of the people during the struggle. When chosen beforehand, the choice usually falls upon those who owe their influence either to their having held office in the past, or to wealth or family ; good men, it may be, but not possessing the secret of arousing the people either to holy rage or holy daring ; having no confidence in the people, no conception or power of revolutionary initiative, and no sense or comprehension of its true aim—they too often unconsciously betray their mission either through ignorance or fear.

The last half-century has frequently seen republican insurrections against foreign dominion handed over to the guidance of men who had come to terms with that dominion by accepting office under it ; and insurrections, which, like that of Poland, had been both prepared and initiated by the democratic element, yielded up to the influence of princes and aristocrats, and then allowed miserably to consume themselves in a circle of compromises, which, without obtaining a single real advantage from the governments, impeded, restrained, and finally exhausted alike the energy of the people and the enthusiasm of the sister nations.

In Lombardy, when, from ill-timed modesty, weakness, or culpable carelessness, the promoters of the insurrection withdrew from the task of directing its development, the government was placed in the hands of men either incapable, like Casati ; aristocratic at heart, like Borromeo ; or intriguers, like Durini ; men whose courtier-souls were unable to exist without a master, and who cast the liberty, the people, and the future of Italy, without even a shadow of compact or guarantee, at the feet of Charles Albert.

ROYALTY AND REPUBLICANISM
IN ITALY.*

CHAPTER I.

THE Italian movement was every day more openly assuming that character of nationality which is its true spirit, its inward source of life. The cry of "Viva l'Italia!" resounded on the farthest coast of Sicily; it was heard in every manifestation of local discontent, and, like the "Delenda est Carthago" of Cato, it wound up every political discourse.

In other countries, the agitations of the peoples, impatient of inequality and suffering, were caused by a desire to establish a new order of things, either social or political. Italy alone—and herein lies our well-assured hope of a great future for our country—can boast that her children arose for an idea. They sought a country; they looked to

* The following pages were first published in England in 1850 under the title of *Royalty and Republicanism in Italy*. The edition was small and the work is now out of print. The importance of the documentary evidence it brings to bear upon the causes which induced the Piedmontese monarchy to take part in the Lombard war, and the additional interest given to the events it describes by the fact that the principles and previsions of the author have been so strikingly verified by the history of the last seventeen years in Italy, have determined the translator to revise and republish it in the present edition.—*Translator's Note*.

the Alps. Liberty, the *goal* of other nations, was for ours only a *means*.

It was not that the Italians, as many believed and many feigned to believe, were either indifferent to their rights, or imbued with monarchical ideas. Except in some corners of Naples and Turin, I do not believe there exists a people more truly democratic, and consequently more republican, than our own, through tradition and from a sentiment of civil equality ; through the faults of their Princes, and from an instinctive sense of their own future mission. But our people had too high a sense of their own power, not to feel that Italy, whenever she became one Nation, must and would be free ; and they would therefore have sacrificed liberty for a time, to any one, Pope, Prince, or worse, who would have led them, and made of them a Nation. The foremost, although not really the most formidable obstacle to the brotherhood of all the populations on the sacred soil of Italy, was Austria. Their first cry, therefore, was, *War with Austria !* and the little of liberty which they had as yet succeeded in wresting from their masters, was almost exclusively devoted to rendering this cry more solemn and unanimous.

As early as April 1846, the petition addressed to the Pontifical Legates assembled at Forlì, after setting forth the just complaints of the provinces, wound up by the declaration that local mal-administration was regarded by the inhabitants of

the Romagna as only a secondary question ; that the *Italian* question was the first ; and that the most crying sin of the Papal court was that of being the vassal of Austria.

At Ancona, in August 1846, on the arrival of the news of the Pontifical amnesty, the people collected under the windows of the Austrian agent, and the popular exultation found vent in the cry of *Away with the foreigners !*

At Genoa, in November 1847, when the king went to visit the city, 40,000 persons, hailing a new-born hope, defiled before him, carrying the banner conquered from the Austrians by the Genoese in 1746, floating above the masses, the eloquent programme of their aspirations. Thus it was everywhere, and with all.

Metternich understood the *National* tendency of the movements. "Under the banner of administrative reform," said he to Count Dietrichstein in a despatch dated the 2d of August 1847, "the factions are endeavouring to accomplish an undertaking which could not be confined within the Estates of the Church, nor within the limits of any one of the States which, in their ensemble, constitute the Italian Peninsula. The factions seek to merge these States into one political body, or, at least, into a confederation of States, subject to the direction of one supreme central power." Metternich spoke truly, except that all Italy was the *faction*.

It was a sublime moment when the first sounds were heard announcing the rising of a nation ;—when the hour struck which should have brought forth a new collective life in the world of God, an apostolate of twenty-six millions of men, now silent, but who would have uttered to their sister nations words of peace, fraternity, and truth. Had there been a single spark of Italian life in the souls of our rulers, they would have been impelled to forget dynasty, crown, and power, to become the first volunteers of the sacred crusade. They would have exclaimed : *Better one hour of communion in a great idea with an awakening people, than a whole existence, menaced by some, and despised by others, in the solitude of a throne.* But by the decree of Providence—whose will it is to substitute the era of the People for that of the Kings—Princes are no longer, —they will not again be equal to the performance of such a part. They treacherously availed themselves of the generous but imprudent impulse which impelled the people to forget the past, and to sacrifice liberty to the hope of independence ; they betrayed both, and deluding the noblest of all popular aspirations, they precipitated the Italians into the abyss in which they now lie. I have already described the theory and method of the *Moderate* party, which rapidly increased in numbers and importance about this time. Scarcely had Pius IX. ascended the Papal throne when many young men,

educated with us in the worship of the national idea, and far superior to the *Moderate* leaders, began to group themselves around them ; either attracted by the plausibility of their discourses and the *prestige* of the Pope's first acts, or by the hope of opening up to Italy an easier road to a brighter future, after the discouragement produced by the many abortive attempts of the past. They were men of pure souls and religiously devoted to their country, but too pliant and yielding ; untempered by nature or suffering to a severe and earnest faith in immutable Truth ; too soon fatigued by the inevitable sorrows of the struggle, and confounding the need we all feel of true authority, with respect for the sham authority already existing, which then appeared about to be reconstituted and renewed.

Below these, rejoicing to see the obstacles and the necessity for sacrifice diminish, thronged the crowd of worshippers of interest ; of the mediocre in heart and mind ; of the *lukewarm*, whose slumbers were troubled by our war-cry, and to whom the programme of the *Moderates* promised the easy honours of patriotism as the price of writing some pacific article, of harmlessly tilting with *Lloyd* on the subject of railroads, or perhaps of supplicating the Prince to deign to show himself a little less of a tyrant.

And, lower still, swarmed the lepers of all parties, the busy race of political jugglers and trading politicians : veritable harpies who sully all they touch ; ready in all countries to swear and to

forswear themselves ; to extol to the heavens, or to blacken and calumniate ; to launch out boldly, or creep inshore, according to the wind ; seeking every chance of agitating without personal danger, in order to acquire some microscopic importance, some paltry public or secret employment. The race, God be thanked ! is rarer in Italy than elsewhere ; yet more numerous, through the effect of a Jesuitic, materialist, and tyrannic education, than one would wish to see it amongst a people great in the past, and destined to be great in the future.

The first declared : " Our first question is independence ; our first conflict is with Austria ; a gigantic power not only through her own elements of strength, but through the ties which unite her with the other governments of Europe. Now, if you threaten your Princes, you either deprive yourselves of their armies, or you array them against you : our people are corrupt, ignorant, and indifferent ; unaccustomed to the use of arms, and without energy or determination. With such a people you can neither carry on a national war, nor establish a republic, which must be founded upon virtue. The people must first be educated, taught resolution and energy, and the moral duties of citizenship. Progress is slow and gradual. We must first win our independence, then the education of liberty,—Constitutional Monarchy,—and then the republic. Public matters must be governed by the science of *opportunities* ; they who claim all

obtain nothing. Let us not persist in imitating the past, especially the past of France. Our Italian movement must be made in our own way, and governed by our own rules and methods. Your princes are only hostile to you because you have attacked them. Rally round them ; urge them to form industrial and commercial leagues among themselves ; military leagues will follow after, and thus you will obtain an army willing and secure. By degrees foreign governments will learn to know you, and Austria to fear you. It may be that we may achieve our independence through peaceful means and pecuniary sacrifices ; if not, our Princes will be reconciled to us, and they will win it for us by force of arms. It will be time enough then to think of liberty."

The second class—well-meaning, but deluded—sang hymns to Pius IX.—a man with a soul that might have made an honest country priest, but a bad prince—calling him the regenerator of Italy, of Europe, of the world ! They preached peace, oblivion of the past, and universal fraternity between the princes and the peoples, between the wolf and the lamb, and chaunted a moving canticle of love and hope over a land sold and betrayed for five centuries by its Princes and Popes, and still reeking with the blood of its latest martyrs.

The last—the intriguers—ran here and there, agitating and meddling ; now commenting to order

on the given text ; now buzzing about the strangest news of royal intentions, promises, and foreign negotiations ; repeating words that had never been uttered ; striking and distributing patriotic medals, and so forth. While spreading false and foolish stories among the people of the intentions of the Princes, they mysteriously held out the hand to us, whispering : "*Let matters be ; everything has its time ; for the present we must use those who have armies and cannon ; afterwards we will overthrow them.*" I do not myself remember a single man among them who has not either said or written to me, "*In theory I am as republican as yourself,*" and who did not meanwhile do all in his power to vilify and calumniate our party and our intentions.

We were republicans of ancient date, our faith being founded upon grounds we have often declared, and shall often declare ; but we were especially such as regards Italy, because it was our aim to make of her a Nation. Faith made us patient—the triumph of the principle in which we have always been and still are believers, is so certain, that the sooner or later matters little.

By decree of Providence,—gloriously revealed in the progressive history of humanity,—Europe is fast advancing towards democracy. The most logical form of democracy is the Republic. The Republic therefore is one of the *facts* of the future.

But the question of national independence, and

of national unity, demanded an immediate and practical solution. How was this question to be solved? The Princes did not desire it. The Pope was neither able nor willing. The People remained; and we raised our forefathers' cry of "Popolo, Popolo!" accepting all the logical consequences of the principle involved in the cry.

It is not correct to say that progress *manifests* itself by degrees; it *works* by degrees; and in Italy the National idea had been gradually elaborated during the silence of three hundred years of general slavery, and, later, through nearly thirty years of earnest apostolate, often crowned by martyrdom, of the noblest souls amongst us. When once the soil has been thus prepared by unseen labour, a principle is generally revealed by insurrection; by a collective, spontaneous, and abnormal action of the multitude; by a sudden transformation of the *authority*. The triumph of the principle thus achieved, the development of the series of deductions and consequences resulting from it, is again slow, normal, and gradual.

It is not true that liberty and independence can be disjoined, to be achieved one after the other. National independence—which is only liberty conquered from the foreigner—requires, in order not to be a living lie, the collective work of men possessing a sense of their own dignity; the energy of enthusiasm, and the power of self-sacrifice. These

are the qualities of freemen ; and indeed in the rare contests for independence which have taken place without admixture of political questions, the people have derived their power from the amount of National unity already gained.

It is not true that a republic cannot be founded without the concurrence of all the severest republican virtues. This idea is an error of ancient date, which has contributed to falsify the theory of government in nearly all minds. Political institutions ought to represent the *educating* element of the state, and republics are founded precisely in order that those republican virtues which monarchy *cannot* produce, may germinate in the hearts of the citizens.

It is not true that the mere blind force of armies and cannon is sufficient to regain independence. In all conflicts for national liberty, it is necessary to have a dominant idea presiding over the material forces employed ; the banner which floats above the army ought to be the symbol of this idea : and that banner, as facts have indisputably proved, is half the victory. Moreover, to hope for a genuine, ardent, and enduring alliance between Princes, some of Austrian, nearly all of foreign blood ; jealous of each other, and, through a sense of their past misdeeds and the spread of the democratic movement in Europe, trembling before their subjects, against whom their only

refuge is Austria, is to cherish a far more Utopian idea than our own.

You can only hope to found the nation through a *man* or a *principle*. Have you the man? Have you among your Princes a Napoleon of liberty, a hero who can at once think, act, fight, and love better than others; heir to the idea of Dante, and precursor of the idea of the people? If so, let him arise and make himself known; but if not, let us evoke the principle, and cease to drag Italy in the wake of illusions fraught with tears and blood.

We said these things—not publicly but in private conversations, and in correspondence with men in the entire confidence of the chiefs of the Moderate party. On those of the second class—the friends who had abandoned us—we looked with sadness, thinking, *When the experiment is over, you will return to us; but God grant that the trial may not have withered your hearts, and destroyed your faith in the destinies of Italy!*

From the last and lowest party—the intriguers—we kept aloof, that we might not be sullied by contact with them. Friends or foes, we were, and would preserve ourselves, noble and loyal. Nations—I have often said it—are not to be regenerated by a lie.

To our question the *Moderates* replied by pointing to Charles Albert. I speak not here of the *King*; but, whatever the political hypocrites

who are employing their posthumous enthusiasm for Charles Albert as a weapon against his successor, may say—however sincere the people of Piedmont may be in their illusion that the idea of the war of independence is symbolised in that name—the judgment of posterity will weigh heavily against the *man* of 1821, of 1833, and of the capitulation of Milan. The very nature and temperament of the individual were such as to exclude all hope of any enterprise on his part for the Unity of Italy. Genius, love, and faith were wanting in Charles Albert. Of the first—which is revealed by a life wholly, logically, and resolutely devoted to a great idea, the career of Charles Albert does not offer a single trace; the second was stifled in him by the constant mistrust of men and things, awakened by the remembrance of an unworthy past; the last was denied him by his uncertain character, for ever wavering between good and evil, between *to do or not to do*, between daring and drawing back. In his youth, a thought—not of Italian duty but of Italian ambition—the ambition, however, which at times is profitable to nations—had flashed like lightning across his soul; and, although he then had recoiled in affright, yet the remembrance of this one brilliant moment of his youth constantly recurred to him, and tortured him like the incessant throbbing of an old wound, instead of acting upon him as an incitement to a new life. Between the

risk of losing the crown of his little kingdom in case of failure, and dread of the liberties which the people, after having fought to win him a greater, might demand for themselves, he went hesitating along, with these spectres continually before his eyes ; stumbling at every step, without energy to face these dangers, and without the will or power to comprehend that he who would become King of Italy must first of all forget that he was King of Piedmont. Despotic by inborn instinct, yet liberal at times from self-love and presentiment of the future, he allowed himself to be led by the Jesuits and by the men of progress by turns. A fatal disunion between thought and action, between the power of conception and the faculty of execution, showed itself in his every act. Most of those who had endeavoured to place him at the head of the enterprise, were compelled at length to take this view of his character. Some who were intimate with him went so far as to whisper that he was threatened with lunacy. He was, in fact, the Hamlet of monarchy.

With such a man as leader, the success of the Italian enterprise was impossible. Metternich, a mind not powerful but logical, had long judged him and others also. In the despatch already quoted, he says : " An Italian monarchy does not enter into the idea of the factions—one positive fact necessarily turns them from all idea of a monarchical Italy ; the

possible king of such a kingdom does not exist on either side of the Alps—they are marching straight to a Republic.”

The *Moderates* also, though neither logical nor intellectually powerful, understood that even had Charles Albert the will, he had not the capacity to realise the National idea ; they therefore came to a compromise by substituting for the idea of an Italy, the petty conceit of *an Italy of the North*. Of all possible conceptions it was the very worst that could have been imagined.

A kingdom of Northern Italy, if created by victory over the foreigner, might have become a *fact*, accepted by the people through gratitude, and submitted to by the other Princes of Italy from the impossibility of destroying it ; but put forward as a programme, anterior to the event, it was an apple of discord flung precisely where harmony was most essential. It was a gauntlet of defiance flung down to all the *Unitarians* of Italy ;—a sort of fraud upon the Republicans, as it substituted the will of the monarchical faction for the will of the nation—an outrage upon Lombardy, which was ready to sink itself in *Italy*, but not to sacrifice its individuality to that of another province—a menace to the aristocracy of Turin, already alarmed by the all-absorbing contact of Milanese democracy—and a scheme of aggrandisement suspicious and unwelcome to France, because in favour of a monarchy

which had for many years shown itself adverse to French movements and French influence: ~~it~~ furnished the Princes of Italy with a pretext for withdrawing from the crusade into which their subjects were driving them; it implanted the germ of jealousy in the heart of the Pope—and it damped the enthusiasm of the many, who, though willing to use every exertion, and even to sacrifice life itself for the *National* enterprise, yet shrank from labour or sacrifice to further the speculations of dynastic egotism. It created a new series of obstacles; it overcame none. It created, moreover, a new series of logical consequences, destined of necessity to dominate the war, and which in fact did dominate it, and finally extinguish it in misfortune and disgrace. Nevertheless, so universal was the thirst for war with Austria, that even this unlucky programme, proclaimed in all sorts of ways, both legal and illegal, was accepted without examination by most. All founded their hopes on the idea of a royal initiative: all strove to urge on Charles Albert, crying, *Act! no matter on what conditions.*

Charles Albert, however, would never have acted, had not the Milanese insurrection placed him in the alternative of seeing a republic arise alongside of his own kingdom, and losing his crown, or of taking the field.

The work of Carlo Cattaneo,* a man who is an

* The insurrection of Milan in 1848, and the war which followed it. *Memoirs* by Carlo Cattaneo, Lugano, 1849.

honour to our party, relieves me from the necessity of describing the immediate causes of the glorious Lombard insurrection here ; causes, however, completely foreign to all the manœuvres and false promises of the *Moderates*, who were agitating in Turin and Milan. It is a book, which, on account of the extreme importance of the facts and considerations it contains, should be read by all. No one has ever refuted, no one can ever refute it. But for want of the documentary evidence since published, the above opinion as to Charles Albert's motives and much that I am enabled here to prove, is necessarily only hinted at in Cattaneo's volume.

"It appears," says he at page 96, "that the king addressed a manifesto to all the Courts of Europe, in which he declared that in invading the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, he had no other aim than to to prevent the proclamation of a republic there." The documents* upon Italian affairs, since submitted to the English Parliament by Lord Palmerston, now place this fact beyond all doubt, and reveal, notwithstanding all the clamour of the *Moderates*, that the Piedmontese government, even before taking a single step, was far more intent upon the political than the Italian question. The war against Austria was

* Correspondence respecting the affairs of Italy, Part II., from January to June 1848. Presented by command of Her Majesty to both Houses of Parliament, July 31st, 1849.

in substance—as, if directed by Monarchical chiefs it always will be—a war against Italian democracy.

The insurrection of Milan and Venice, long invoked by all true Italians, burst forth among a people irritated by thirty-four years of slavery, imposed upon Venetian Lombardy by a foreign government, which was both abhorred and despised. Its *immediate* cause was the ferocious provocation of the Austrians, who, not believing in a revolution, sought to drown a revolt in blood. It was prepared and facilitated by the apostolate, and by the influence, worthily acquired over the people, of a knot of young men, belonging for the most part to the middle classes; and who were all—save one—Republicans, and he gave himself out for such at that time. It was resolved upon—a fact which reflects the highest honour on the Lombard youth, and is too little known—precisely when the news of the abolition of the censorship and other important concessions had been already published. But Venetian Lombardy did not seek for *ameliorations* in the method of its Government; it demanded *Independence*.

The revolution commenced without being desired or foreseen by the men of the municipalities or others, who were negotiating with Charles Albert.

The youth of Milan had already been fighting for three days, when these men, despairing of success, issued a proclamation regretting the

abandonment of legal measures, and the unforeseen absence of the *political authorities*, and proposing an armistice of fifteen days' duration. The revolution went on ; supported chiefly by men of the people, fighting to the cry of "Viva la Republica!"* and directed by four men of the Republican party, united in a council of war. Unaided it triumphed, costing the enemy four thousand dead, and amongst that number 395 cannoneers. These are incontestible facts, henceforth a part of Italian history.

This revolution of the people began on the 18th of March. The Piedmontese government was already extremely disquieted by the news from France and the extraordinary and daily increasing fermentation among its own people. Two despatches prove the alarm caused by the affairs of France ; the first sent from Turin, 2d March, by Mr. Abercrombie to Lord Palmerston;† the second, signed by Saint Marsan, the same day, and communicated to Lord Palmerston by Count Revel on the 11th of March.‡ The internal fermentation

* "Bodies of citizens perambulate the city armed with fowling-pieces, rifles, swords, pistols, and old halberds, carrying tri-coloured flags, with tri-coloured cockades in their hats, crying, "Viva Pio Nono ! Viva l'Italia ! Viva la Republica !" —Despatch of the 18th to the 22d of March, sent from Milan to Lord Palmerston, by the English Vice-Consul, Robert Campbell. *Cor.* Part II, p. 212.

For all matters regarding the social condition of the combatants, see the register of those killed on the barricades and Cattaneo, p. 309.

† *Cor.* Part II. p. 122.

‡ *Idem*, p. 141.

forced the king to publish on the 4th of March, the basis of the Constitution (Statuto); and on the 7th a movement took place in Genoa, in which the people threatened to follow the example of France.

The news of the Lombard insurrection arrived at Turin on the 19th of March. The enthusiasm it created was indescribable. The ministers, assembled in council, ordered the formation of a *corps d'observation* on the frontier, with Novara, Mortara, and Voghera, for its central points. Rumours spread of an approaching openly republican movement, and a despatch of the 20th, sent from Turin by Mr. Abercrombie to Lord Palmerston,* speaking of these rumours, designates them as one of the causes which had most influenced the ministerial decisions.

Meanwhile orders were sent off to bar the road and stop the volunteers who were hastening to Milan from Genoa and Piedmont. Eighty Lombards were disarmed on Lake Maggiore.† On the 20th the news which reached Turin was uncertain, and slightly unfavourable to the insurrection. The gates of Milan were said to be still in the hands of the Austrians, and the people were losing ground for want of ammunition. The excitement still continued at Turin. The people assembled in front of

* *Cor.* Part II. p. 174.

† See a document in Cattaneo's book, p. 99.

the Ministry of the Interior to demand arms, but they were repulsed. Count Arese, who arrived from Milan to request assistance for the insurrection, could not even succeed in seeing the king; was coldly received by the ministers, and departed the same day, disenchanted and discouraged.

On the 21st the reports were more favourable; and Count Enrico Martini, the *Commis Voyageur* of the *Moderates*, made the Milanese municipality and the council of war an offer of royal assistance, on condition of *absolute surrender* to the king, and the formation of a Provisional Government, which should draw up a proposal to that effect.

Eternal shame upon the courtiers who thus trafficked in the interests of a crown with the blood of the brave men who were gladly meeting death for their country, at the very moment when Martini was saying to Cattaneo: "Don't you know that it is not every day one has a chance of rendering such a service to a king?*

To a king! the humblest of the workmen fighting cheerfully on the barricades for the banner of Italy, without stopping to ask what men would reap the reward of their victory, was worthier in the sight of God, and will one day be worthier in the sight of Italy, than fifty crowned kings.

On the 22d the heroic struggle was crowned by victory. The Porta Tosa was taken by Luciano

* Cattaneo, p. 60.

Manara (since fallen a martyr to the Republican cause at Rome); the Porta Ticinese occupied by the insurgents; the Porta Comasina delivered by those who arrived from the country,—and the enemy were dispersed and threatened by complete destruction. In the evening Radetsky did not retire,—he fled.

Then only, on the evening of the 23d, when the victory was complete, and a further isolation would inevitably have separated Milan from the Sardinian Government to give it to Italy; whilst the volunteers of Genoa and Piedmont were forcing their way into the Lombard territory, and the populations, indignant at the King's inertia, were menacing still worse in the interior,—Charles Albert, who on the 22d had, through his minister, assured the Austrian ambassador (Count de Buol) that "*he desired to second him in all that could confirm the relations of friendship and good neighbourhood existing between the two States,*"*—signed the proclamation of war.

The first Piedmontese troops entered Milan on the 26th of March.

On the 23d of March, at eleven o'clock in the evening, Mr. Abercrombie received at Turin a despatch, signed E. N. Pareto, of which the contents were as follows :— " Monsieur Abercrombie knows,

* Ficquelmont to Dietrichstein, despatch of the 5th of April.—*Cor. Part II.*, p. 325.

as well as the undersigned, the gravity of the events which have just occurred in Lombardy : Milan in active revolution, and soon to be entirely in the power of the inhabitants, who, by their courage and firmness have resisted the disciplined troops of his Imperial Majesty ; the insurrection in all the neighbouring towns and villages, in fact, *all the country bordering on the States of his Sardinian Majesty in flames*. This situation, as Monsieur Abercrombie can well understand, reacts upon the state of minds in the kingdom of his Sardinian Majesty. The sympathy excited by the siege of Milan, the spirit of Nationality, which, notwithstanding the artificial limitations of different states, is nevertheless powerfully manifested, all concur towards keeping up in the provinces and in the capital such an agitation *that it is to be feared, that from one moment to another a revolution might burst forth, which would put the throne into great danger ; for it is impossible to dissimulate, after the events of France, that the danger of the proclamation of a Republic in Lombardy is imminent*. In fact, it appears from positive information, that a number of Swiss have greatly contributed, by their intervention, to the success of the insurrection of Milan ; if we add to this the movements of Parma and Modena, as well as those of the Duchy of Piacentia, over which last it cannot be denied that his Majesty the King of Sardinia, has the right of watching, as over a

property which will return to him by right of reversion ; if we add also, that great and serious exasperation has been excited in Piedmont and in Liguria by the conclusion of a treaty between his Imperial Majesty and the Dukes of Parma, Piacentia, and Modena—a treaty which, under the appearance of furnishing assistance to these small states, has really engulfed them into the Austrian monarchy, by extending its military frontiers from the Po, where they ought to end, to the Mediterranean, and thus destroying the equilibrium which existed between the divers powers of Italy—it is natural to think *that the situation of Piedmont is such, that at any moment, at the announcement that the Republic has been proclaimed in Lombardy, a similar movement might burst forth in the states of his Majesty the King of Sardinia, or that at least there would be some grave commotion which might endanger his Majesty's throne. In this state of things, the King thinks himself obliged to take measures, which, by preventing the actual movement of Lombardy from becoming a republican movement, will avoid for Piedmont and the rest of Italy the catastrophes which might take place if such a form of government were proclaimed.*" *

Towards midnight Mr. Abercrombie went to Count Balbo, and obtained still more precise infor-

* Despatch of the Marquis Pareto to the Hon. Ralph Abercrombie—*Cor.* Part II., p. 185.

mation. "He and his colleagues, judging from the various official reports made to them by the Director of Police, as to the imminent danger that existed of a republican revolution breaking out in this country, should the Government delay any longer to assist the Lombards, and seeing, in their opinion, the impossibility of restraining further the great and general excitement that exists throughout the states of his Sardinian Majesty upon this subject, had complied," etc.*

The Marquis of Normanby wrote from Paris on the 28th to Lord Palmerston, giving an account of a conversation he had just had with the Marquis Brignole, Sardinian Ambassador in France. The Marquis had repeated from a despatch received from Turin the reasons already enunciated, and insisted particularly upon the following part, that "Charles Albert had refused the first deputation from Milan, to interfere, whilst that city was still in the possession of the Austrians;" adding, that the second deputation had declared to the King, that if he did not hasten to give them aid, he would hear "*The Republic*" at once proclaimed; and that the King had only commenced hostilities to *maintain order* in a territory left by the force of circumstances *without a master*.†

In another despatch of the 25th of March, Mr.

* Mr. Abercrombie to Lord Palmerston—*Cor.* Part II., p. 184.

† Marquis of Normanby to Lord Palmerston—*Idem*, p. 206.

Abercrombie explained to Lord Palmerston, with yet more ample details, the state of affairs in Piedmont at the time of the royal decision—the pacific intentions of the Balbo-Pareto Cabinet—the immense influence exercised by the people, who threatened to revolt in Piedmont and to attack the Austrians in spite of the authority of the government—and the imminent danger of the monarchy of Savoy, which had *forced* the ministry to take up arms.*

But this is not all. In the instructions which the Minister of Foreign Affairs sent from Turin to the Marquis Ricci, Sardinian Envoy at Vienna, it was said:—"There was reason to fear that the numerous political associations existing in Lombardy, and the proximity of Switzerland, might cause a *Republican Government* to be proclaimed. This form would have been fatal to the Italian cause, to our government, and to the august dynasty of Savoy. It was necessary to take prompt and decisive measures. The Government and the King have not hesitated, and they are profoundly convinced that they have acted, at the risk of all the danger to which they have exposed themselves, *for the safety of all other monarchical states.*"†

This idea was so firmly rooted in their minds, that on the 30th of April, when the war was already

* Despatch of the 25th from Mr. Abercrombie to Lord Palmerston—*Cor.* Part II. p. 207.

† *Cor.* Part II. p. 330.

advanced, and it was no longer necessary to dissimulate, but only to conquer, Pareto declared again to Mr. Abercrombie "*that had not the Sardinian Government decided upon ordering the Piedmontese army across the Tessin at the moment that it did, it would have been impossible to have preserved Genoa from revolt and from separating itself from the dominions of his Sardinian Majesty.*"*

Under such auspices, and with such intentions, did the Piedmontese monarchy and the *Moderates* march to the conquest of independence. A deluded nation applauded them, applauded Charles Albert, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the King of Naples, and the Pope. The hearts of the Italians were so overflowing with love in those fleeting but happy days, that they would have embraced their deadliest enemies had they but worn the Italian tricolour cockade.

CHAPTER II.

EXIGENCIES AND FATAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE ROYAL WAR.

IN the genesis of facts Logic is inexorable ; it cannot be falsified either by the Utopias of *Moderates*, or the tortuous tactics of calculating politicians. In politics, as in everything else, a principle inevitably

* Abercrombie to Palmerston—*Cor.* Part II. p. 408.

involves a system, a series of consequences, of progressive applications, easy to be foreseen by any one with common sense. Every *theory* has a corresponding *practice*; and if the generating principle of a *fact* is falsified or betrayed in its application, that fact is irrevocably condemned to disappear; to perish without development, an unaccomplished programme, an isolated page in the history of a people; prophetic for the future, but barren of immediate result. Forgetfulness of this truth rendered the failure of the Italian movement in 1848 a necessity; and it failed.

The Italian movement was essentially *national*; it was the movement of a people endeavouring to define, to manifest, to constitute its own *collective* life. It ought to have been supported and to have conquered through a *people's* war; a war sustained by all the national forces from one end of Italy to the other.

Everything calculated to bring the greatest number of forces to bear upon the aim, was favourable to the movement; everything tending to lessen that number was necessarily fatal to it.

The *generating idea* of the movement was in every way opposed and contradicted by a paltry idea of dynastic aggrandisement. The royal war, having a quite different end in view from that proposed by the insurrection, had, consequently, utterly different methods and principles of action. It was

bound of necessity to stifle the national war, the people's war, and with it the triumph of the insurrection.

Many of the adversaries of our party, recognising their incompetence to refute us on our own ground, have made it their system to misrepresent us ; to confound republicanism with anarchy ; our social doctrine with communion, and our yearning after a universal and active belief with the negation of all belief. They have affected to see in the people's war we preached, a disorderly and confused war ; composed of irregular elements, and irregular in its operations ; governed by no ruling idea, and lacking all uniformity of command and even of *matériel* ; to the point that they have even affirmed that we sought to make war without either guns or cannon ! Ridiculous notions, but not ours : as the few movements which have emanated from the republican principle, and which may be regarded as the prologue to the drama of the future, have sufficiently proved. The small number of men gathered together in two Italian cities,* beneath the republican flag, conducted a more scientific, as well as a more obstinate war, than the many who fought under the banner of the monarchy.

By a people's war, we understand a war sanctified by a national object ; in which the greatest possible number of forces a country can supply is

* Rome and Venice.

brought into action, and all such forces are employed according to their special nature and peculiar fitness ; in which the regular and irregular elements of warfare, distributed over a territory adapted to their various aptitudes, alternate their activity ; and in which it is declared to the people : *The cause combatted for is yours ; the efforts and sacrifices made to win it ought therefore to be yours.* By a people's war we understand a war in which a *principle*, a grand idea, boldly proclaimed and faithfully applied, by leaders pure in heart, powerful in intellect, conscientious, vigilant, trusted, and beloved, awakens to a kind of inspired life, and exalts to enthusiasm those capacities for struggle and sacrifice which are so easily kindled or extinguished in the heart of a people. In a people's war no privilege of birth, of favour, or even of length of service, without merit, would have any influence in the formation of the army ; the right of election would be applied as widely as is practically possible ; moral training would alternate with military training ; and rewards, proposed by the different companies, approved by the chiefs, and conferred by the nation, would teach the soldier to feel that he is not a machine, but a part of the people armed in a holy cause. In a people's war men are not taught to look for safety exclusively to an army, a man, or a capital ; they learn to create centres of resistance everywhere ; to see the cause of the

country at stake wheresoever a handful of brave men raise the banner of victory or death. A prudent well-combined general plan being held in reserve in case of serious reverses, the operations are bold, rapid, and unforeseen ; relying especially on moral elements and effects, and unrestrained by diplomatic considerations ; the *peoples*, in fact, are more regarded than the governments ; and the chief aim is rather to enlarge the circle of insurrection, than timorously to guard against the movements of the enemy ; rather to wound *them* to the heart than to avoid sacrifices for the country.

And for a war like this—the only war capable of saving the nation and its independence—the royal war was compelled, by the inevitable necessity alike of its traditions and its intentions, to substitute the cold and hierarchical methods of the soldiers of privilege ; the dry calculation of material elements only ; the neglect of all moral elements, of the enthusiasm and faith which are capable of transforming a soldier into a hero of victory, or a martyr.

Contempt and distrust of the volunteers—an excessive importance given to the capital,—the army, such as it was, the creation of a despotism, with numerous but inferior officers, and chiefs almost all incapable, some opposed to the war, or worse ;—suspicion of all action on the part of the people, as likely still further to develop their democratic tendencies and awaken a consciousness of

rights fatal to royalty ;—aversion for every adviser possessed of popular influence, as liable to dictate conditions or suggest duties ;—respect for foreign diplomacy, for treaties, facts, or governmental pretensions dating from the iniquitous period of 1815, and that even when such treaties hindered operations that might have been decisive ;—repugnance to assist Republican Venice,—refusal of all aid from without, which might have augmented sympathy for the party hostile to monarchy,—old and worn-out tactics and strategy, and dread of every bold or novel operation ;—the persistent dominant idea of the necessity of saving Piedmont and the Piedmontese throne at any cost ; above all, and fatal to all noble enthusiasm, the germ of dissension sown among the combatants for the same cause, by the substitution of a miserable scheme of *political* egotism, for the *Grand National Idea* :—such were the fatal but inevitable characteristics of the royal war.*

* The unhappy effects of this dynastic idea were indicated, with the usual perspicacity distinguishing English observation, in a despatch dated 31st of March, sent to Lord Palmerston by Mr. Robert Campbell, Vice-Consul at Milan. “ Until now, my Lord,” he says, “ the greatest union had prevailed amongst all classes ; but since his Majesty the King of Sardinia has entered Lombardy, two parties have sprung up ; one, the high aristocratic party, is desirous that Lombardy and Piedmont should be united, with his Majesty Carlo Alberto for their sovereign ; the other, the middle class, in which I must distinguish the commercial and literary people, together with all the promising youth, are for a republic.”—See *Cer.* Part II. p. 294.

It will be observed that I do not speak of treachery; even if I believed in its existence, it would not accord with my habits to cast an accusation on a tomb. The causes I assign are more than sufficient for the ruin of a people's insurrection, and I would remind the Italians that they have operated fatally twice in a short space of time, and that they will be attended with the same result a third time; as often in fact as a nation can be found blind enough to recommence the experiment.

From the very first days of the war these causes acted so powerfully that men must have been blind indeed not to perceive them, and insensible not bitterly to deplore them. Blind indeed were the men of the Provisional Government of Milan, and the *Moderates* of Piedmont and Lombardy; blinded by egotism, by party-spirit, by courtier-like servility, by aristocratic traditions, and by fear of the Republic. The Republicans perceived this clearly; and their saying so, though, as we shall shortly see, only in whispers, was regarded as an unpardonable crime. Hence the base accusations, the wild threats, and the calumnies uttered against us; things which we despised at the time, but which, now that the struggle is over, and Italy—thanks to our traducers—is prostrate, it is well to refute.

I am writing notes, not history; I do not,

therefore, intend in these pages to follow out all the faults of the government and the errors of the royal war, in order to display the dissolving and ruinous influence of the causes of failure I have signalised above. Cattaneo's book, the documents contained in a pamphlet published at Venice in 1848 by Mattia Montecchi, secretary of General Ferrari, and in a recent publication of General Allemandi ; the recital of the last events at Milan, published by Restelli and Maestri, two members of the Committee of Defence ; the official acts contained in the Journal of the 22d of March, and even the reports dictated for their own defence by our adversaries, confronted with the irrefutable evidence of FACTS, contain the whole sad story.* It was

* To the extracts already inserted from public documents it may be well to add two others :—

“ My observations were met by declarations that the government were nearly at the end of their resources to control the frantic enthusiasm of the people, and that if a solution of the Lombard struggle was not obtained within a few days, the Sardinian Government would be constrained by force of circumstances to take the initiative.

“ The accounts received this morning from Genoa are, that a popular demonstration to oblige the Governor of the town to send succours to Lombardy, had been calmed by his promising to detach a portion of the garrison for that purpose.”—Abercrombie to Lord Palmerston, Turin, 24th of March. *Cor.* Part II. p. 205.

“ The prolongation of the struggle at Milan increased the determination of the people here, and weakened the resources of the Government ; and at length the danger to the monarchy of Sardinia became in the eyes of the ministers so imminent, that they were forced to acquiesce in the demands for help.

important to expose the reasons and the necessity which drove Charles Albert on to the Lombard territory ; and it is now important to show the line of conduct pursued by the Republicans in these circumstances ; for these are points which have not as yet been treated, or have at most been very slightly touched upon elsewhere.

The Lombard insurrection had already been victorious upon every point, when the royal troops advanced upon Lombard territory, and pushed onwards in the direction of the Tyrol. The volunteers had gather towards those passes, driving the enemy before them. The passes leading to the valleys of the Adda and Oglio, were already occupied by our men. The insurrection in Venetia had been accomplished with inconceivable rapidity, and had placed the defiles which lead from Austria into Italy in the hands of our mountaineers of Carnia and Cadore. Palma and Osopo were ours. The sea and the Alps, as Cattaneo writes, were closed to the enemy, and they would have remained so had the royal war recognised as our true strategic points, not the fortresses and Piedmont but the Alps and the sea—the Tyrol and Venice.

The enthusiasm of the populations was great, and great the discouragement of the enemy. A

“The present Sardinian Cabinet has thus been forced into a line of policy, which, had events proved more favourable to them, they would not willingly have adopted.”—Abercrombie to Lord Palmerston, Turin, 25th of March. *Cor.* Part II. p. 208.

subscription opened at Milan on the 1st of April, to provide for the current expenses of the government, had produced a sum of 749,686 Austrian lire by the 3d; a loan of twenty-four millions of francs which was proposed by the government, found capitalists ready to subscribe without interest.* Men ran to inscribe their names in the *Free Corps*, and in the National Guard. Women were rivals in enthusiasm, and almost surpassed the young men; they prepared cartouches, went from door to door soliciting subscriptions for the government, and tended the wounded in the hospitals.† The Austrians retreated on every side; frightened, in disorder, harassed by our volunteers, and lacking provisions.

The Italian soldiers in the Austrian service deserted their ranks; at Cremona, the Albert regiment, the 3d battalion Ceccopieri, and three squadrons of lancers; at Brescia, a portion of the Haugwitz regiment,‡ and others elsewhere. An Austrian frigate riding before Naples,§ and two brigs of war cruising ¶ in the Adriatic, hoisted the

* Campbell to Lord Palmerston, Milan, 3d of April. *Cor.* Part II. p. 295.

† *Idem*, 3d April. *Cor.* Part II. p. 295.

‡ See Radetski's despatches to the Austrian government. *Idem*, p. 337.

§ Lord Napier to Lord Palmerston, Naples, 27th of March. *Idem*, p. 283.

¶ Consul-general Dawkins to Lord Palmerston, Venice, 28th March, *Idem*, p. 286.

Italian flag and gave themselves to the Venetian Republic. In all Italy there only remained to Austria—and these cyphers are proved by the official reports—50,000 men,* defeated, discouraged, and exhausted.

And beyond the confines of Lombardy, wherever the language of the *si* is heard, the fermentation had spread, it was a gathering crusade. The Milanese insurrection had sounded the tocsin for the Italian insurrection. At the first news of the movement in Modena, 2000 civic guards of Bologna, 1200, with 300 of the line, from Leghorn, the civic guards and the students of Pisa, and the civic guards and volunteers of Florence,† assembled at once; and a few days afterwards, to avoid the ruin which threatened him,‡ the Grand Duke himself was obliged to declare war against Austria. At Rome the arms of Austria were burned by the people, the civic guards, and the carabinieri; and over the palace of the Austrian embassy they substituted this inscription: PALACE OF THE ITALIAN

* Lord Ponsonby to Lord Palmerston, Vienna, 10th of April. *Idem*, p. 338.

† Sir George Hamilton to Lord Palmerston, Florence, 24th of March. *Cor.* Part II. p. 259.

‡ “All these things keep up such an agitation in the capital, and in the provinces of the Grand Duchy, that the most terrible commotions may be feared from one moment to another, unless the government hastens to follow the general desire, that our troops and our militia should participate in the struggle.”—Neri Corsini to Baron Schnitzer Meeran, Florence, 29th March. *Idem*, p. 314.

DIET.* Volunteers presented themselves in crowds, and were publicly blessed by the priests; subscriptions were opened to arm them and send them to the camp. By the 24th of March, many had already quitted the city,† and at the end of the month 10,000 Romans and 7000 Tuscans were assembled on the banks of the Po, ready to cross it at Lago Scurio.‡ At Naples also the abhorred ensign of Austria was burnt; and on the 26th of March, the lists of volunteers were opened, and the King was forced to give way before the universal excitement.§ I speak not of Genoa and Piedmont. The volunteers of Genoa—I recall it with pride, not the pride of municipality, but that of affection for the soil where my father sleeps, and which was the birthplace of my mother—were the first to sign, in the face of the enemy, the general bond of Italian fraternity with the men of Lombardy.

And beyond Italy, the good news spread with the rapidity of thought, making men grown grey in exile young again; blessing with new life souls expiring in doubt; effacing the remembrance of long sorrows, the recollection of the repeated de-

* William Petre to Sir T. Hamilton, Rome, 22d of March. *Cor.* Part II. p. 261.

† William Petre to Sir T. Hamilton. *Idem*, p. 277.

‡ Campbell to Lord Palmerston, Milan, 31st March *Idem*, p. 294.

§ Napier to Lord Palmerston, Naples, 27th and 28th of March. *Idem*, p. 284.

ceptions of the past, and those uneasy forebodings of the future so soon to be verified. A single thought inspired every glance, and breathed through every accent in our deep emotion, "We have a country! we have a country to whose service at length we may devote ourselves." And to her we hastened, with head erect and hearts swelling with Italian pride, across those lands we had traversed wandering and despised, but which now resounded with a cry of surprise and applause for *our Italy!* God forgive those who calumniated our souls in those moments of love and national worship! They, the *Moderates*, received with fixed bayonets at Genoa and escorted disarmed to the camp, like malefactors, the Italian workmen who had hastened from Paris and London, conducted by General Antonelli, to join in the battles of independence. They accused us of conspiracy; we only conspired to forget. Ah! when I think of these men, utterly incapable of understanding our hearts, I call to mind the words of St. Theresa speaking of the damned—"Unhappy ones, they cannot love."

But all this emotion, all this enthusiasm, which was urging Italy forward to great deeds, spoke of the *people*, not of the *princes*; of the nation, not of miserable dynastic speculations. To attack it openly was impossible; and although Martini first, and Passalacqua afterwards, had only offered the royal assistance on condition that Milan should pass

under the King's dominion; although the Provisional Government was favourably disposed, and some members of it already secretly pledged to these conditions, yet no one dared to stipulate openly for the *pre*-payment of the price of a still uncertain victory. The lion roared still; he had first to be tamed. In an address sent to Charles Albert begging for assistance, the Provisional Government, as early as the 23d of March, had conveyed to the King and his diplomatists the real nature of its intentions.* Nevertheless, its *public* declarations contained a programme which deferred the decision of the political question—the future destiny of Lombardy—until the day of victory; confiding it, when that day should arrive, to the good sense of the people,—“*when all shall be free, all will speak : after the victory the nation will decide.*”

Such was the tenor of the proclamations of the 29th of March and 8th of April, etc. And these declarations, made to the Lombards, to the Venetians, to the Genoese, and to the Pope, were also made on the 27th of March to France. “*In such a state of things,*” it was said, “*we abstain from*

* “Your Majesty . . . will certainly receive the applause and gratitude of the people. We would wish to add more, but our position as a provisional government does not allow us to anticipate the votes of the nation, which undoubtedly are all in favour of a greater strengthening of Italian Unity.”—Address of the 23d March, communicated by Count Revel to Lord Palmerston on the 3d of April.—*Cor.* Part II. p. 264.

*every political question ; we have solemnly and repeatedly declared that, after the struggle, it would belong to the nation to decide upon its own destinies.**

And Charles Albert himself announced, in his proclamation of the 23d of March, that the Piedmontese army came to "*lend to the peoples of Lombardy and Venice, in their ulterior efforts, that assistance which brother may expect from brother, friend from friend.*" Soon afterwards he announced at Lodi that his arms, by shortening the struggle, "would restore to the Lombards that security which would permit them to apply themselves, with a calm and tranquil spirit, to the regulation of their political life."

This at any rate was an honourable proposition : the Republicans accepted it as such, and they held to and abided by it loyally. They were first betrayed and then calumniated.

If, amid the barricades of March, the republican banner had been elevated, if planted by the hand of the people, the men who directed the insurrection, assuming a grand revolutionary initiative, had rendered themselves the interpreters of the idea then stirring the heart of the multitude, the independence of Italy would have been secured. All now know, and we better than others, that the assistance of the Swiss battalions, though refused by

* The Provisional Government of Milan to the Provisional Government of France.—*Cor.* Part II. p. 355.

the Swiss Government to the King, was *offered* by the Cantons to the *Republican* insurrection ; and that the French Government, very distrustful then of the intentions of Charles Albert, and uncertain as to the line of conduct he would pursue, would have found it impossible to withstand the popular enthusiasm in our favour and the necessities of its republican policy. And in Italy herself—putting aside the question of foreign succour—such was then our strength, and such the unanimity of our hatred against Austria, that, under the guidance of capable and energetic men, it would have been easy for us to have obtained a decisive victory.

Perhaps the terror inspired by the fatal word Republic, and the impossibility of combating the irresistible impulse of the Italian crusade, might have driven some of our princes into open opposition and provoked at once the defections which in fact took place later, and this, too, would have been a new guarantee of safety for us, as then we should have had no traitors in the camp.

But the time was not yet sufficiently ripe for republican *unity*, as necessary for us as independence itself ; for independence without unity cannot endure ; and foreign influence and artifice would, in a very few years, make of a *divided* Italy the theatre of deadly civil wars. Before an *Italy of the people* could have a well-recognised probability of.

existence, it was necessary that Rome should show herself worthy of being its capital.

However, the republican banner was not displayed ; the people and the monarchy stood side by side in the face of the enemy upon the Lombard soil ; every political party had accepted the programme of political neutrality put forth by the Provisional Government ; and the Republicans resolved to renounce all political initiative, to wait patiently until the will of the people should be manifested at the end of the war ; and to consecrate all their efforts upon the conquest of Italian independence.

Even our right to do this was meanly contested by the men of the Provisional Government, and the *Moderate* leaders of the dynastic scheme.

The wandering and agitated life to which all true believers in the republican faith have been subjected for so many years, prevents me from proving the facts I state by letters, dates, and journals. But I affirm on my honour the truth of every syllable I write. Our accusers are living ; let them refute me if they can and if they dare. I regret being obliged to mix up my own name with these recitals ; but since I was chosen, deservedly or not, to represent in part the republican idea, I owe to the banner what I would not do for myself. I treated with the disdainful silence of utter contempt the many false accusations levelled against me

from all quarters during my stay at Milan, to the effect that I had, by an obstinate adherence to my own ideas, ruined the war. It might have been supposed then that I sought to exculpate myself through fear, and through a desire to avoid the tempest which threatened me. But it is now all-important that Italians should know the truth as to those men who summon them to work with them for the national cause.

The facts are these :—

We Republicans had no faith that the Provisional Government, taken collectively, would prove equal to its mission. But as, from love of concord, we had accepted the programme of neutrality between the two political principles, we could not advance men of known republican opinions to power without arousing the suspicions and irritability of the party opposed in principle to our own. The most influential amongst us, therefore, rallied around the members of the government ; hoping, on the one hand, that our counsels might be of service, and, on the other, that the enthusiasm of the country would be maintained by seeing us all united ; and, finally, that our frequent contact and intercourse with these men would induce them to persevere in the line of conduct they had so solemnly undertaken to pursue. The first words I uttered in Milan were words of encouragement to the government ; the second—requested of me by one of the

supporters of the monarchy—were an entreaty to Brescia that in certain discussions with Milan she would sacrifice every local right to the union and centralisation then indispensable to the success of the war.

In order that the various branches of the great Italian family might learn to love and to esteem each other, and to join in brotherhood on the battlefield; in order that the people might retain, with the consciousness of the sacrifices accomplished, the consciousness also of its own rights—and also because we mistrusted the military chiefs, and whilst others were hymning to victory before the battle, we foresaw the possibility, the probability even, of failure,—we were desirous that the *Nation* should arm, so as to be able at all events to defend itself. We were anxious that, by the side of the regular troops, the volunteers, the armed representatives of the people, should be maintained and strengthened. We desired the prompt formation of the Lombard army, on a good basis, and with efficient officers.

The Provisional Government aimed at the reverse of all that we sought.

Ignorant in war as in all else; firmly convinced that the royal army would suffice for all the necessities of the war; already pledged—the greater number of them—to the compact for the fusion of Lombardy in the Piedmontese monarchy;

and stupidly believing that the best means of bringing it about was to enable the King to conquer alone, so as to reduce the people to make choice between Austria and him—insincere themselves, and therefore little disposed to trust in the sincerity of others; inclined to political intrigue from the absence of any political conception of their own, and from deficiency alike of heart and intellect—the most influential members of the Provisional Government devoted themselves to the task of preparing public opinion in favour of the Piedmontese monarchy, and raising up enemies to the Republican party. Of things needful for the war—of arming the people—of the general conduct of affairs—of keeping up and availing themselves of the military ardour displayed by the people—of all this they took no heed. The worthy few among them had had no participation in the dynastic plan, but they allowed themselves to be mixed up either in the action or inaction of their colleagues, some from weakness, and some through the influence of individual friendship.

The conduct of the Republicans was simple and straightforward.

During the first days succeeding the people's victory, and before my own arrival in Milan, the young men of the barricades had formed a public democratic association, the statutes of which were communicated to the Government. The Govern-

ment having declared by the proclamation of the 8th of April their intention to convoke as early as possible *a National Assembly, in order that the future destinies of the country might be decided by a free vote, the true expression of the popular will*, it had been considered natural and fitting that the Republican party should thus manifest its existence by a legal act. But that duty accomplished, and the line of conduct I have before described adopted, the association put aside all political questions, and in its rare public meetings occupied itself exclusively with measures concerning the war. I took no part before the 12th of May; except once, to give in my act of adhesion to my brethren in belief, and to move that the Government should be urged forward and supported. "*La voce del Popolo*," a journal conducted by the most eminent men among the Republicans, conformed to this view. It published excellent articles upon the war and upon finance, and endeavoured to infuse some of the popular energy and vitality into the Government. The political question was rarely touched upon, and only in passing, and the word *Republic* studiously avoided.*

But the Provisional Government was scarcely

* One paper *The Lombard*, edited by a certain Romani, a stranger, and regarded by the Republicans (I know not whether justly or unjustly) with suspicion, made violent war upon the Government in one of its articles, and was brutally suppressed.

formed before it died a moral death, and became a corpse into which no galvanism of republican counsel or suggestion could infuse life. Bound even before its formation to a compact of servitude, it distrusted us, the people, the volunteers, itself—everything indeed except "*the magnanimous Prince.*" And *the magnanimous Prince* figured in all its proclamations, discourses, and grandiloquent bulletins, intended to accustom all men to look to him, and the army which followed him, as the sole anchor of the country's safety.

In the first days of the war every skirmish which took place near the fatal Mincio, was magnified in their reports into one of the battles of Napoleon; and, to judge by their statements, towards the middle of the campaign, precisely when the Austrians became again really dangerous, they ought to have been well-nigh exterminated. This policy of the party of the *fusion* rendered the movement which was urging all Italy towards Lombardy and the Lagoons too late and useless. They proclaimed the victory of the royal troops to be certain, infallible. Our advice, though listened to with courtesy, and occasionally even asked, was never followed.

The people meanwhile slumbered in confidence.

But there was yet worse. While we were urging the Government *to aid the volunteers, encourage them, and send them on towards the Alps*, the destruction of the volunteer element (republican for

the most part) was decided ; decided during the last days of March, when Teodoro Lecchi was named to command the future army. They were left without arms, without clothing, without money, and yet violently accused each time that necessity compelled them to help themselves ; sent forward to the Tyrol and the passes of the Alps, and then prevented from fighting ; forced to quit those positions and thus abandon the rising insurrections there, and finally recalled,—they the victors of the Austrians in the glorious Five Days,—wounded to the heart's core, only to be dissolved *

Whilst we were preaching the necessity of the immediate formation of a Lombard army, pointing out the mode of its formation and the necessary regulations, the arming of the troops was first hindered and then abandoned ; thousands of Italian soldiers, who had deserted the Austrian banner for ours, were dispersed ; and the instruction of those who presented themselves to be enrolled, was confided to Piedmontese officers out of service, some of whom had even been dismissed from the ranks for misconduct.

In answer to my reiterated requests that as a means of rendering the war more national and

* See Cattaneo, chaps. vii. and viii : *The Military Expedition in the Tyrol*, May 1848 ; Italy : and *The Volunteers in Lombardy and the Tyrol*, by General Allemandi, Berne 1849 ; and the *Correspondence*.

supplying the young army with men already experienced in insurrectionary warfare as officers, our exiles who had held command in Spain, Greece, and elsewhere, should be summoned, I was told that "no one knew where they were." I was not to be discouraged thus, and *as I did know where they were*, I succeeded in obtaining authority to summon them, and the signature of the secretary, Correnti, to authenticate my appeal. But when they arrived, the minister, Collegno, refused their services,* alleging that circumstances had changed.

When we republicans, in order to rally the free thought of Europe on our side, and excite a noble spirit of emulation in the Italian youth, offered the help of the French and Swiss legions of Volunteers, orders were sent from the King's camp to the Provisional Government to refuse their aid, and the Government in consequence broke the treaties it had concluded with Berne and the Canton de Vaud. But was not Garibaldi himself, when he arrived from Monte Video, coldly, almost scornfully received at the monarchical camp, and then sent to Turin to see *if* or *how* he could be employed by the minister of war?

While these things were passing at Milan, the

* Major Enrico Cialdini said to Collegno that he was "determined not to have made his journey for nothing, and that before returning to Spain, he would go and seek an Italian wound as a common soldier at Venice." He went, and was in fact wounded in the ranks.

royal war was kept at a distance from the true strategic point of the struggle, the Alps, and sluggishly confined within the circle of the fortresses. Communication with Austria through the Alpine passes being thus left open, the Austrian army was reorganised, re-victualled, re-inspired, and enabled to await the arrival of reinforcements. One reason for this was that the Tyrol was closed to Charles Albert by his respect for the treaties of 1815; while the defence of Venetia was prevented partly by the secret manœuvres of foreign governments, partly by the distant hope of reconciliation with Austria,* and still more by a hatred, shamelessly displayed, of the Republican flag.

Meanwhile, a pretext was found by the other Italian princes for withdrawing from the war, and repressing the ardour of their subjects, in the ambitious dynastic views which the promoters of the scheme of *an Italy of the North* manifested in the

* I do not enter into details; they will be found in the work of Cattaneo, in the documents collected by Montecchi, and in the history of the campaign; but I cannot refrain from citing here a document unknown till now:—"The undersigned . . . hastens to inform Mr. Abercrombie, that the order is given to the commanders of the royal navy, to let all merchant ships under the Austrian flag navigate freely wherever met . . . The commanders have also received the order not to enter into any act of hostility against Austrian men-of-war, except in case of provocation—Turin, 29th March 1848. (Signed) L. N. PARETO."—*Cor.* Part II. p. 265.

This despatch is confirmed by another of April 19th, and by the instructions of the Sardinian Admiralty.—*Cor.* Part II. p. 381

most imprudent and barefaced manner everywhere. Pius IX. forbade the Romans to cross the Po. Cardinal Soglia corresponded in cypher with Innspruck. Corboli-Bussi went to the King's own camp to conspire and exhort to defection.*

There were moments when the Provisional Government seemed to awake to a sense of the real condition of things and of its own duties ; and then, as if by instinct, it defined where true energy was to be found, and addressed itself to the Republicans ; but it betrayed its promises on the morrow—a secret message from the camp, or a word from an intriguing courtier, sufficing to lull it again to sleep, or induce it to change its intention. The people, already bewildered and deceived in numberless ways by political charlatans, no doubt derived fresh reason for illusory security from this apparent but inefficacious contact between us and the Government. I will cite a single example:—

The news of the fall of Udine had filled all hearts with terror. At midnight I was summoned to the Government, where I found several influential Republicans assembled. It was necessary, the

* “ I have been informed from a source on which I can place reliance, that the Pope has sent positive orders to his troops not to cross the Po. Monsignor Corboli-Bussi has passed through Florence from Rome, and I understand that he is sent on a mission from the Pope to the King of Sardinia recommending him to retire with his troops within his own frontier.”—Sir S. Hamilton to Lord Palmerston, Florence, April 14th.—*Cor.* Part II. p. 358.

members of the Government informed us, to raise the country, to prepare it for a tremendous effort, to call upon it to save itself by its own energy, and they asked us to indicate how this was to be done. I wrote down on a scrap of paper several things to be done, which I believed would contribute to the end to be attained ; but I declared to them that they would be inefficacious if the Government itself undertook their execution. "God alone," continued I, "can bring forth life from death. Your Government is deservedly discredited. Until now you have used every effort to put down all enthusiasm, and to create, by your false reports, a fatal security ; *you*, therefore, cannot now suddenly start up and preach a people's crusade, without causing the cry of *treason* to be raised by the masses. New measures, new men. I ask for no dismissals, which, at such a moment, would look like flight. Choose three men—Monarchists or Republicans, it matters not—but men both capable and determined, and who, if not loved, are at least not despised by the people,—then, under the pretext of the overwhelming amount of labour upon your hands, or any pretext you will, let *them* be charged with all duties and authority in the affairs of the war. From these men let the measures I have proposed to you emanate ; to-morrow we will rally the people round them and be their guarantees."

One of the means I proposed was a levy *en*

masse in all the five classes ; while the Government thought it was doing too much by calling upon the first three classes only, and putting off the call to the rest till the month of August, *because then the peasants would have had time to gather their harvest.* They added the blasphemy that the *peasants were Austrian at heart*, while the poor peasants of the two first classes were actually revolting against the surgeons who rejected some of them as unfit for service !

I insisted that at least another appeal should be made to the volunteers, and offered myself as a guarantee for their response—feeling quite sure that the example would be followed in all the towns—by engaging to form a legion of a thousand volunteers in Milan ; provided I was allowed to placard my appeal upon the walls with my own name inscribed at the head of the list. I retired, *applauded, and with a promise of consent.*

Two days after, the consent was recalled, and as for the proposed council of war, it was transformed into a *Committee of Defence for Venetia*, and then into a *Committee of aid for Venetia*, composed of members of the Government, and then it disappeared altogether. Castagneto, Charles Albert's secretary and *factotum*, had said "that the King did not choose to have an army of enemies in his rear." Did space permit, I could quote many such examples.

Thus passed the first period of the war. In the second, the Government changed its tactics. The *Moderates* began, I think, to see that ruin was approaching; and in order to obtain a *precedent* in view of a very uncertain future, they became frantic to bring about the fusion of Lombardy with the Piedmontese monarchy. They went raving about the public streets, proclaiming that Milan should be the capital of the new kingdom; they fanaticised the ignorant masses against the Republicans by every description of falsehood, accusing them of being in league with Austria, at the same time that they were the proposers of the *levée en masse*;* and they persecuted the Provisional Government for not hurrying on the matter fast enough.

The members of the Government—whether believing or not in their wild promises—yet incessantly, through their agents, assured the people—the people they had so long deceived and lulled into

* Enrico Cernuschi was menaced and imprisoned, as well as Agnelli, Terzaghi, Perego, and others. A certain Fava exercised over Cattaneo and the men who had directed the March movement, an espionage worthy of Austria. Inscriptions on the walls and anonymous letters threatened me with death. A certain Cerioli—I forget whether before or after the 12th of May—stuck up on all the walls a long placard of which the conclusion stated “that I had refused to see my mother on account of the diversity of our political opinions.” At this very moment my poor mother was journeying to Milan to embrace me and bestow her blessing on my faith after an exile of nearly twenty years. I know not of any Republican who has fallen so low as thus to calumniate the private life of his political adversaries.

blind confidence—that the danger was becoming grave, that men, money, everything in fact was wanting for the defence of the country; but that on condition of the Lombards giving proof of confidence in the King, on condition of the *fusion*, there would come millions of crowns from Genoa, thousands of soldiers from Piedmont, and benedictions from heaven; and that thus, without levies, and without great sacrifices, the permanent liberty of Lombardy would be accomplished.

With the Republicans, whom they had already determined to betray, their feigned friendship now changed to sudden coldness; they affected to suspect them of conspiracies in which they had really no belief.

Conspiracies, and for what? If overthrowing that pitiful phantom, which styled itself a Government, could have changed the fate of the war, the Republicans could have overturned it in two hours.

At the beginning of this second period, when the Government had already decided upon breaking its published programme, while I was attacked on all sides by calumnies and threats in consequence of my silence, an old friend of mine, an earnest and sincere patriot,* was sent to me from the camp, as the bearer of strange propositions. He came in the name of Castagneto, the King's secretary, to propose *that I should constitute myself patron of*

* Campanella.

*the monarchical fusion,—that I should set myself to bring over the Republicans to the royal party, and that I should be allowed in return as much democratic influence as I could desire in the construction of the articles of the Constitution to be given. He also proposed an interview with the King, and I know not what besides.**

Our first aim, the undying desire of our hearts, was and is *Independence* from the foreigner; the second, the *Unity* of our country—without which independence is a lie;—the third, the Republic; and with regard to this last, indifferent as we were to our individual fate, and certain of the ultimate future of our country, we had no need to show ourselves intolerant. To whomsoever could have assured me of the independence and prompt unity of our country, I would therefore have sacrificed—not my belief, that was impossible—but all active endeavour for its speedy triumph. For myself, solitude and the power, of which none could deprive me, of printing and publishing the ideas I believe useful to my country, would always suffice. In our desire for our country's independence, we Republicans had not required the prayers of a King to induce us to keep silence on the subject of the Republic. But the all-important question at that time was the war with Austria;

* He also offered Mazzini the place of First Minister of the Crown in the proposed Kingdom of the North.—*Translator.*

and we regarded the Federalist conception of *an Italy of the North* as fatal to the war, because too ambitious to be accepted by the rest of the Italian Princes and by European diplomacy, and at the same time insufficient to satisfy the demands of the population of Italy.

This conception had already extinguished all popular enthusiasm, and already excited the hostility of the other governments; thus the resources of the country were paralysed, and the chances of the war against Italy much increased. To turn them again in her favour, and reanimate that spirit among the people which overthrows all obstacles, there was but one way—*war*, a war not of *Princes*, but of the *Nation*.

For this a man was needed ready to dare all things, and to bind himself not to draw back either through egotism or weakness.

Did Charles Albert desire to be that man? If so, he must forget his poor Savoyard career, and become really and truly the "*Sword of Italy*," which the *Moderates* declared him. Since all the other governments of Italy would in such case be hostile to him, he must openly break with them all; and rally around him—united and exalted by one great idea—*all* the patriots whom Italy could number, from the Alps to the furthest confines of Sicily. By this we should have known that he spoke and intended to act in earnest, and we would

have used every effort to bring to his aid all the revolutionary elements of Italy.

If he did not mean this, it was better to leave us in peace. We were willing—it was our duty—to sacrifice our banner to the safety of Italy; but we could not, we ought not to sacrifice it, and the influence which our unswerving constancy to our belief had gained for us over the destinies of our country, to a King who would risk nothing for himself; who refused to commune with the Italian idea, and who might at any time have withdrawn from the arena, saying to us: *You also, you the believers, accepted a compromise.*

Such was in substance my answer to the envoy. Upon being asked what guarantee the King must give of his concurrence in the work of unity; *Let him*, I said, *sign a few lines declaring what his intentions are.*

I was requested to write those lines. I took a pen and wrote them. They were, with a few variations in form, which I have forgotten, the same which I designedly inserted a short time after in the programme of the *Italia del Popolo*," published at Milan. I transcribe them here:—

“I feel that the time is ripe for the unity of our country. My soul thrills in response to yours. Up! arise! I will be your leader. Behold, I offer you, as gage of my good faith, the spectacle hitherto unknown to the world, of a King constituting him-

self priest of the new epoch ; armed apostle of the idea-people ; architect of the temple of the nation. In the name of God and of Italy, I tear to shreds the ancient treaties which held you dismembered—treaties heavy with your blood. I call upon you to overthrow the barriers which still divide you, and to group yourselves in legions of free brothers, around me, your leader, ready to conquer or die with you.”

The friend departed, and a few days after I was shown a letter of Castagneto's in which he said : “ *I see plainly that there is nothing to be done in that quarter.*” When may we expect to see a loving or generous idea, pregnant with a nation's future, take root in the heart of a king ?

We continued to be silent* with regard to the political question, and to aid the war as we best could by our labour and counsel. But the war was no longer Italian ; it was not even Lombard. It had become a Piedmontese war ; the war of a political faction. Ministry, organisation, administration, all were in the hands of men devoted to this faction. The Government had no other mission than to receive bulletins from the camp, sound the praises of the King, and prepare the fatal decree of the 12th of May.†

* In all the frequent despatches forwarded to Lord Palmerston by the English agents in Milan, not one will be found speaking of Republican agitation.

† The decree of the 12th May ordained that the population of

By it their published programme of neutrality upon the subject of the future destiny of Lombardy was violated, precisely when the disastrous events of the war already foretold the final catastrophe, and rendered it more than ever imperative upon them to abide by their professed impartiality, in order to avoid sowing new seeds of discord in the camp, and in order not openly to take away all *national* character from the war. We pleaded, we conjured the Government ; but in vain. It was resolved upon servility.

Then, and then only, we felt the necessity of openly protesting in the sight of all Italy. All who were at Milan at that time well know that such a step could not be taken without danger. And the fact that we did speak then ought to be a proof, conclusive alike to friends and foes, that we had only kept silence so long from love of our country, and a desire not to disturb a union which, although in fact only external and apparent, might have been advantageous to the war.

The day after the issue of the decree, we published the following document :—

*“ To the Central Provisional Government of
Lombardy.*

“Gentlemen—After the prodigies of the Five Lombardy should at once decide, by means of a hasty vote by register, the question of the immediate incorporation of Lombardy with Piedmont.

Days, when the people—sole sovereign in this land redeemed by their own blood—sublime in victory and confident as to its results, accepted you for chiefs, they conferred upon you a double mandate. They bade you provide for the full and complete emancipation of the country ; they called upon you to prepare the way for the due expression of the popular will concerning the future destinies of the land, in order that such expression might be spontaneous, enlightened by fraternal discussion, accepted by all parties, solemnly legalised in the face of all Europe, uninfluenced by base desires or fears, and worthy of Italy.

“ And the populations of the rest of Italy, knowing, feeling themselves our brothers, sent us—as well as distance and circumstances allowed—soldiers to aid in the holy war, thereby tacitly confirming the same mandate. They understood that the destinies of all Italy were in question here, upon this Lombard soil, where the revolution and the triumph had been the people’s work ; that here, in a most important portion of Italy, the utterance of the free and deliberate vote of several millions of brave men, would afford a testimony, probably conclusive, as to the true instincts, tendencies, and desires fermenting in the heart of the masses, and destined to decide the form of their new life.

“ You *then* understood this mandate, gentlemen ; or you appeared to understand it. And feeling

that you had neither the power nor the right of taking the initiative, you solemnly and repeatedly declared that the initiative belonged solely to the people ; and that the people alone—when once the territory were free and the war ended—would discuss and decide, through the medium of a constituent assembly, the form of government by which to regulate its political existence.

“ In making this declaration you assuredly did not contemplate anything so unjust, nay, impossible, as that a whole people should remain silent for an indefinite period upon questions of the most vital importance to themselves ; you could not reasonably pretend that the people should combat without knowing wherefore, and vanquish without asking themselves what would be the result of the victory ; that in becoming soldiers of liberty, they should commence by abjuring liberty and renouncing their right of pacific and fraternal discussion.

“ Each variety of opinion gradually found some medium of expression. This was well ; a preparatory education was thus offered to the people by the most enlightened of its fellows, in order that, on the meeting of the assembly, they might be ready with a deliberate and thoughtful vote ; it afforded a proof to attentive Europe that the Lombard populations were not excited by a blind spirit of reaction, but that they felt that the time was ripe for them to take their place, with a due con-

sciousness of their rights and duties, in the great community of nations.

“This ought not to have alarmed, but to have rejoiced you. You ought to have used all your influence to keep the field open to all ; to preserve the discussion of the question free alike from intrigue and intolerance, and to maintain it within the bounds of pacific and fraternal argument.

“You well know, gentlemen, which among the various political opinions was the first to overstep the accepted limits of the discussion. You know that whilst the representatives of the opinion to which the undersigned are proud to belong, maintained themselves calmly and peacefully within the arena of argument ; whilst they, and they only, persisted upon the legal ground you had marked out, and supported you upon every occasion and with all their power, whilst they even exaggerated, to their own detriment, the virtue of moderation ;—others, more impatient because less confident in the justice of their cause, became so violent as almost to convert the discussion into a struggle, the friendly word into a menace.

“To you—popular as you then were—it belonged to utter words of conciliation : you did not do so.

“A short time afterwards, certain misguided men in some of the provinces, openly attempted the dismemberment of the collective unity of the state ;

advocated the immediate dedition of Lombardy to Piedmont, without awaiting the consent of the rest of their brethren ; thus violating the obedience due to your central government, and opening the way to anarchy. They formed lists of names, which they presented to the deceived citizens and ignorant inhabitants of the villages, invested with the *prestige* of some of the secondary authorities ; and hastily collected signatures, in many cases even by artifice, and by suborning names. These abuses, these frauds, were well known to you, gentlemen ! Complaints were addressed to you, and proofs afforded : some of us remember your expressions upon the subject, and will, if need be, make them known to history.

“It was your most sacred duty to punish these attempts ; to publish official declarations disabusing the deluded populations ; to publicly reiterate your programme, and explain the reasons for its maintenance ; to spread the knowledge of it everywhere, and appeal to the patriotism and good sense of your fellow-citizens.

“You did not do this ; and although the excitement and agitation produced among the people by these manœuvres required but a word from you to appease it ; although many of the honest adherents of all parties requested you to speak such word ; you refused to comply. You shrouded yourselves in an inexplicable and fatal silence ; you remained

immovable while the agitation and excitement were daily increasing—and now you exaggerate its extent, and appeal to it as your exculpation for the violation of your programme of neutrality, which had been accepted by the nation. Now, when the patriotism and good sense of the Lombards are beginning to diminish the threatened danger—now, when some of the deceived towns are beginning—unaided by you—to return to their allegiance, and signify their adherence to that former programme ; you, by your decree of the 12th of May, abandon it ; you sanction these fatal manœuvres, and suddenly call upon the citizens thus unprepared to decide at once upon the future fate of their country by an illegal, illiberal, and indecorous method, invented for the purpose of securing the exclusive triumph of one political opinion or party over the rest.

“The system thus introduced of voting by registers is illegal, because it violates, by your authority, that programme which was the very condition of your political existence in the eyes of the country ; and because it takes the most vital and important of all questions out of the hands of the *Constituent Assembly*.

“It is illiberal, because it suppresses discussion, the indispensable preliminary and basis of the vote ; because it cancels one of the inalienable rights of all free citizens, and substitutes a mute and servile

act of obedience for the deliberate and public manifestation of the conscience of the country.

“It is indecorous, because it is hurried ; because it changes that which ought to be a proof of thoughtful affection and mature conviction into a mere capitulation dictated by fear ; because the war hanging over us, and the presence of an army representing solely one political opinion, deprives the vote of all dignity ; because it causes us to appear, wrongfully, in the eyes of Italy and of Europe, to have been guided in that vote by our personal interests and fears, and may cause the generous men who are fighting for us as brothers, wrongfully to appear in the light of our conquerors.

“The scheme is evidently expressly fabricated to ensure the triumph of one political opinion over all others ; for it is imposed upon the people precisely when that one opinion has succeeded in preparing the way for its own triumph by every description of manœuvres ; and because you do not confine yourselves to asking the people whether they desire to proceed to an immediate final decision, but you force a final decision upon them, by excluding one of the solutions of the problem from the registers, and suppressing the utterance and expression of that solution.

“Gentlemen, you have betrayed your trust.

“We believe it our painful duty to declare this ; a duty most painful—not with regard to the future

fate of Italy, for the destinies of Italy are decided in a far higher sphere than that in which Provisional Governments flourish or decay—but because we have long loved and defended you, and because we believe that your decree of the 12th of May will long trouble the peace of your consciences.

“Gentlemen, the immediate consequences of this decree may be to raise up great dangers to the internal tranquillity and to the liberty of the country. By it you have furnished a pretext for a foreign intervention, which we should all deplore. By quitting your neutrality and becoming the sectarian supporters of one exclusive opinion, you have most unwisely flung down the gauntlet of defiance to those opinions which you have sacrificed.

“May God aid Italy, and save her from the danger into which you have drawn her of foreign intervention! As for us, we love our common country more than ourselves; we shall not take up the glove; we shall not seek by resistance to obtain our rights, because such resistance would be a commencement of civil war; and civil war—always a crime—would be doubly such now while our country is invaded by the foreigner. Our fellow-citizens will, we feel assured, appreciate our sacrifice.

“We shall content ourselves for the present, gentlemen, with solemnly protesting in the face of Italy and Europe against what you have done, for

the satisfaction of our own consciences. The good sense of the nation, and the future, will do the rest."

Thus did the Republican party, long deceived by the false promises, and misled by the Jesuitical bearing of the Provisional Government,—pursued by disgraceful accusations and perfidious insinuations spread amongst the people,—suddenly betrayed in its dearest hopes by a decree which, for the free, solemn, and pacific *discussion* of a Constituent Assembly *after* the victory, substituted a mute vote by register with the sword of Damocles suspended over the heads of the voters,—reply by words of grave and severe sadness to the betrayers of the public trust; and declare that for the sake of that union which it alone had preserved until the 12th of May, by its self-sacrificing silence, it would not take up the gauntlet thrown down to it. The *Moderates* of Genoa assembled in crowds upon the proclamation of our protest, and committed it to the flames. We might have said with Cremutio Cordo, "Burn, then, all the worthy citizens of Italy upon the same pile, for they know the truths we have uttered here by heart."

A few days later we published the programme of our journal *L'Italia del Popolo*, and even then our language was that of conciliation. "Ours," said we, "is a mission of peace. Brothers among brothers, we recognise and we claim the right of free

speech, without which no true fraternity is possible. Who would, who could, dispute this right? Is not thought sacred in Italy? Is not truth elicited by the conflict of opinions? Where is he who possesses it, infallible and entire? Ah! if brothers should seek to impose silence upon brothers,—if diversity of conviction as to the means of making our country *one*, free, and great, could ever make us enemies one to the other, our prevision of a future Italy would be but an irony and a falsehood.

“We seek to educate. At the first dawn of freedom of speech in our country, we renounced all the secret associations, all the old paths of insurrection, which had been righteous in the past. We bow down in reverence before the sovereign judgment of the people, legally expressed. We accept whatever facts, created by the consent of the whole people, may serve as an intermediate link between the present and that *ideal* which is our soul’s star. But who would dare to bid us *renounce that ideal*?

“In the name of God, in the name of the inviolability of thought, allow our banner, which you yourselves all admit to be the destined banner of the future, to be borne aloft by unstained hands and float in the sphere of ideas at least, like a happy omen above the cradle of a people aspiring to become a nation! We know well that, even should you choose a contrary path to-day, you will one day come to seek it where it waves above our tombs;

but you will then seek it, enlightened by our labours upon its potent significance, upon the value of those sacred words '*God and the People*' blazoned upon it: you will seek it—not by the sudden impulse of excited passion, or of mere reaction against tyrannies extinct, but as the legacy left us by our forefathers, improved and verified by the study and experience of your brothers. Meantime, let us clasp hands upon the neutral ground afforded to us all by present circumstances—*Deliverance of our country, independence from the foreigner by whom she is menaced*. Together let us seek the most active and efficacious method of war against Austria; together let us influence the people for the common weal; point out to our governments the path to victory, and together march with them along that path. Our *first* thought shall be war; our *second*, the unity of our country; our *last* the form, the institutions, calculated to secure its liberty and assure its mission. . . . And if, misunderstood by some and faintly supported by others, we should sink exhausted by the way, still, calm and secure in the conscious purity of our motives, we will say, *Perish the memory of our names; be the mighty love we have felt, the many sorrows we have endured, and the little that we have done, forgotten, so that our idea remain, sacred and immortal; and may God raise up worthier and more capable apostles of that idea in the future!*"

Such were our words. And yet we were everywhere accused of having hindered the war, and dismembered the forces which should have been united, by substituting a purely political idea for the great question of independence from foreign rule!

This false accusation was so industriously propagated and repeated, that even at the present day it is still circulated in Italy and in foreign countries by men deceiving or deceived.

The Republicans, it has been said, *ought to have fought, but they did nothing but discuss.* History, however, and authentic facts and documents always have declared and will declare that *the Republicans were the first to fight, and the last to discuss.* History will say that while the Republicans were fighting on the barricades and driving the Austrians out of Milan, the *Moderates* were conspiring in the interests of a dynasty at Turin—that nearly all those who pursued the Austrians beyond Milan, and hurried on from Como to the Tyrol, were Republicans; that at a later period, while the Provisional Government was taking the first steps in that course which rendered the *capitulation* of Milan possible, the volunteers who seized upon the powder-mills of Peschiera on the 11th of April, were Republicans; that the great majority of those who fought at Treviso, and who, on the 23d of May, sustained the shock of 18,000 Austrians with forty cannon for eighteen hours at Vicenza, were Re-

publicans ; that the body of students who unanimously demanded, implored, to be led against the enemy, were Republicans ; and that those men who, at the end of May, formed the corps called the *Lombard Battalion*, and marched to the defence of Venice when she had been abandoned and betrayed by the royal war, were Republicans.

History will also declare that Giuseppe Sirtori, the founder of the *Democratic Society*, who afterwards obtained such deserved military renown in the Venetian war, was a Republican ; as well as Maestri of the Committee of Defence, in the last days of the war ; and that Garibaldi and those who, regardless of royal treaties and armistices, were the last to abandon the Lombard soil, were Republicans. History will also show that every proposition emanating from the Republican party had war, and war only, for its aim ; that all the agitation and excitement of the populations which took place in Piazza San Fedele,* after the 12th of May, had no other end in view than that of rousing the Provisional Government from their inertia and urging on the war.

The promoter of the only demonstration of a political character that took place (that of the 29th of May), a man named Urbino, had only just arrived from France and was quite unknown to the Republicans. I myself only saw him once.

* The seat of the Provisional Government.

CHAPTER III.

The vote accomplished, the registers were closed on the 29th of May, and as though each triumph of the *Moderates* were destined to correspond with a national misfortune, it was on this day that the flower of the Tuscan youth fell a sacrifice to a want of warlike science, or worse, upon the redoubts of Mortanara and Curtatone.*

The result of the votes was published on the 8th of June. On the 13th, two days after the fall of Vicenza, a deputation, headed by Casati, went to the King's camp bearing the solemn act of fusion. The *Moderate* faction triumphed; the purpose of the royal war was attained; *all possibility of the Republic was for the time destroyed*, and a precedent, as the diplomatists call it, *was acquired for the dynasty of Savoy*. The Royalists were already beginning to feel very doubtful of victory, and a *Precedent*, a title to be kept in reserve and to be made use of in future congresses and political re-

* The Tuscans and Neapolitans united, amounted to about 5000 men, and by prodigies of valour, they made head against 16,000 Austrians during one whole day. General Bava, informed of the enemy's movements on the 28th, sent word to General Langier, who commanded our party, promised him assistance, and even kept within a few miles of the field of battle; yet, when a Tuscan officer was sent to the King to inform him of the dangerous position of our troops, the King thought it prudent to remain immovable at Volta. See General Bava's memoirs.

arrangements, was for them the height of their hopes and desires. Hence this precipitate fusion, contrived in defiance of all promises and engagements, and ruinous to the national cause in Lombardy; and hence, still worse, the betrayal of heroic Venice, where the Royal Commissaries, Colli and Cibrario, were sent on the 6th of August to take possession of the city in the name of Charles Albert, *two days after the base cession to Austria had been signed*. Ah! rather may we still linger in exile, rather may you, my countrymen, still suffer under foreign oppression, than that we should see our great Italian cause again profaned with such low infamy! rather than the blood of our bravest should again be shed to promote the mean interests of dynastic ambition! For as virtue is sanctified by tears, so are nations purified by the sufferings inflicted by tyranny; but they can never rise to liberty through the arts of falsehood and the calculations of egotism; they become degraded by the inertia produced by distrust, and condemned to such slow agony and decay of every great faculty and every generous impulse, as makes the mothers of earth and the angels of heaven weep.

And it was indeed a death agony! we, more unhappy than all the rest, examined without illusion the growing symptoms of decay, and counted the pulsations of the great life passing

away, yet could not even declare, *The liberty of Italy is perishing*, without being denounced as alarmists, and as allies of Austria !

The enterprise upon the Tyrol had been abandoned in April, partly from aversion to the volunteers, and partly in obedience to diplomatic views. The Friuli was lost and open to the enemy ; so also was Venetia, with Padua, Vicenza, Treviso, and Rovigo, which had fallen one after the other, without the King sending a single soldier to their aid. It was a part of the King's policy not to save Venetia, but as soon as her destruction became imminent to play upon her fears, and by holding out a last false hope of deliverance, to extort from her the vote of the 5th of July, by which she incorporated herself with the kingdom of Piedmont.

The engagements which the King had entered into with foreign governments paralysed all military and naval operations. An attack upon Trieste might at that time have been crowned with complete success ; yet the Sardinian fleet, bound by inexplicable but reiterated orders, remained inactive. On the 11th of June, in order to support the partisans of the *fusion* at Venice, it was announced that some Sardinian vessels would attempt an enterprise in consort with the Venetian fleet ; but so soon as the *fusion* was actually voted, the order was revoked.

The Austrians had full leisure allowed them to reinforce, and they wisely matured their definitive plans. Shortly after the decree of the 12th of May, the King of Naples had withdrawn his forces from the National War. The declarations of the Pope and of General Durando, had rendered the succours sent from Rome almost useless. The act of fusion, by suggesting new dangers to the Italian Governments, in this new revelation of the ambitious designs of the House of Savoy, had destroyed all hopes of co-operation on their part; while, by raising up the phantom of a Sardo-Lombardian constituent assembly, it had doubly increased the alarm, aversion, and secret intrigues of the Turin aristocracy. Such were, as I have said, the sad necessities of the Royal War, and they had created a complete isolation around the camp of Charles Albert.

The necessary consequences of the Royal diplomacy—tortuous and intriguing as the diplomacy of the House of Savoy has always been, and vacillating and uncertain as the nature of the King—ended in isolating him from all Europe, and depriving him of all hope of succour from without.

The diplomatic history of this period is very mysterious, and will for some time remain so. Those who directed it are still living, and are, nearly all of them, still in power; and it is necessary for them to conceal their documentary

acts from the unfortunate populations they have deceived. It is remarkable that even the English collection cited above is visibly defective in the most essential parts ; but the principal features pierce through the veil, and it is important to the purpose of this work to point them out.

The struggle between the Monarchical and Republican principles was general in Europe ; the enthusiasm excited by the movements in Italy, especially by the Lombard insurrection and the prodigies of the Five Days, was immense ; and Italy, had she but willed it and known how, might have drawn thence sufficient force to counter-balance all the power of hostile reaction. But in order to do this, it was necessary—contrary to the mean policy of the *Moderates*—to give the movement a character so audaciously national as at the same time to excite the greatest amount of alarm to our enemies, and offer the strongest elements of support to our friends. Both felt that the time was ripe, and began to believe that *Italy* was destined to be : but *Italy* indeed, not a mere *Italy of the North*. I remember the words of encouragement addressed to me by Lamartine, at his house, on the eve of my departure for Italy, in the presence, amongst others, of Alfred de Vigny, and of that same Forbin Janson, whom I was afterwards to meet preaching the papal restoration,

and getting up various petty conspiracies and ridiculous intrigues at Rome.

"The hour has struck for you," said the minister. "I am so firmly convinced of this that the first words with which I have charged Monsieur de Harcourt for the Pope, are these: *Holy Father, do you know that you ought to be the President of the Italian Republic?*"

But Monsieur de Harcourt had quite other things to say to the Pope on the part of that faction which was involving Lamartine in its snares, while he imagined he was controlling it.

For myself—except as a symptom—I attached no importance to these words of Lamartine; a man of impulse, and of noble instincts, but unstable in conviction, without definite determinate purpose, and without real knowledge of men or things. He was but the echo of the general opinion of France in those moments of excitement, and the most hesitating government in France would at that time have been compelled to support any re-arisen nationality, or political programme, which, even if not absolutely Republican, was as advanced as that of the Italian Constituent.

Great things are born of great things. The dwarfish idea of the *Moderates* cribbed and confined the souls of men, and produced an utter change of policy in France. The Italian nation would have been an ally more than sufficiently

powerful to preserve the French Republic from all danger of foreign war, but *a Kingdom of the North* in the hands of princes little to be trusted, and traditionally hostile to the Republicans of France, did but add another dangerous member to the league of kings. The French nation became silent, and allowed its Government to commit the destinies of the Republic to the impenetrable future, and to go forwards without adopting any decisive foreign policy.

England, although the idea of an Italy might possibly excite some feelings of jealousy in her government, was not disposed to oppose a solemn national manifestation. The English policy has at all times been to create obstacles to the accomplishments of any fact calculated to introduce a new element in the state of Europe, but yet to accept that fact so soon as it is solemnly and definitely accomplished. And the two motives which rendered England less adverse in this instance to the creation of the new state—the formation of a barrier against French conquest, and the necessity which would impel Austria to seek compensation in the Turkish provinces, and thus to become an obstacle to the designs of Russia—acted powerfully in favour of Italian nationality. Austria herself felt her danger, but saw no possibility of defending herself.

"If to-morrow," wrote Baron Himmelaue to

Lord Palmerston, "*the French should cross the Alps and descend into Lombardy, we should not stir a step to meet them; we should remain in our positions of Verona, and on the Adige; and if the French should seek us there, we should retreat behind the Alps and towards Isonzo, but we should not accept battle. We shall oppose ourselves neither to the entrance nor to the march of the French in Italy. Those who summoned them will be able to try once again their domination. No one will come to seek us behind the Alps, and we shall remain spectators of the struggles that will be raised up in Italy.*"*

I pronounce no opinion as to whether French armies should or should not have been called into Italy. I believed then, and I wrote several times in the *Italia del Popolo*—although they who styled the Republicans allies of Austria, unceasingly accused us of wishing to decide our quarrels by foreign aid—that we Italians were more than strong enough, if united and resolved, to achieve our own emancipation. And I believe this now. But I say that in order to cut the knot it was necessary either to profit by foreign aid, or to call into the field the living strength of the nation; and I add that if the help of France had been invoked *at that time*, it would have been certain and unfailing. The *Moderates* repulsed the one, and stifled or

destroyed the other. This was at once treachery and folly.

To us, who felt ourselves at least as Italian as they, and who wished to raise the whole country in a crusade, and free it by its own forces, it nevertheless appeared useful and just that the idea of the fraternity of the peoples should receive its consecration on the field of our first battles; and we would have gratefully accepted the proffered help of a numerous body of French volunteers, which would have cemented the moral alliance of the two nations from the beginning, and would have left open the possibility of help from the French Government.

But what was to be hoped from men who, from fear of giving displeasure at St. Petersburg, scrupled not to condemn Mickiewicz and his Poles to the inactivity of the barracks at Milan, until, solely in order to prevent their starting for Venice, which had, by my advice, accepted their assistance, they were tardily summoned to the camp?

If Charles Albert and his party did not desire the help of the French, it was neither from national pride nor certainty of victory; but from the same motive which induced them to reject the Swiss and Italian volunteers—fear of the Republican idea and Republican banner. A timid address from the Provisional Government of Milan to France at the beginning of the war, not even

asking for assistance, incurred a severe reprimand from the Royalists. The instructions given to the Sardinian agents expressly enjoined that no opening should be allowed for French intervention.

"*The French army*," said Pareto, haughtily, on the 12th of May, in the Chamber at Turin, "*will not enter unless summoned by us, and as we shall not summon it, the army will not enter.*" And towards the end of July open resistance was threatened to any attempt at intervention on the part of France. Nevertheless, in order to maintain friendly relations with the French *Government*, and to draw forth promises of support for the *Kingdom of the North*, whenever the moment should arrive for its formal acceptance by the European powers, the MODERATES *secretly engaged to cede Savoy to France*. Of this I have certain information. Savoy was erased from the map of the future *Kingdom of the North*, which was drawn up at Turin for the secret use of some of the Sardinian agents, and of which a copy is in our hands. It was thanks to this bargain that Lamartine forgot his Republican aspirations, and while Bastide, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, declared to me, and to all who cared to hear it, that France was inexorably hostile to the ambitious projects of Charles Albert, the French Envoy at Turin, Monsieur Bixio, spoke unceasingly in favour of the fusion, and sent his secretary to me at Milan, to

endeavour to bring about my conversion. France is now paying the penalty of these diplomatic turpitudes, and of her constant forgetfulness of the principle inscribed upon her flag, by the degradation of her name abroad, and by the anarchy which is consuming her at home.

The *correspondence* makes no mention of the political intrigue which the King's emissaries set on foot in England. But Austria, at first, perhaps, sincerely,—alarmed as she was by her own external and internal condition,—but afterwards obviously with the mere intention of gaining time, repeatedly solicited the English Cabinet to constitute itself mediator and peace-maker between the insurrection and the empire.

On the 5th of April, Ficquelmont, writing from Vienna to Count Dietrichstein, the Austrian Ambassador in London, announced that an Imperial Commissary had been sent into Italy, charged with the duty of negotiating a reconciliation upon *the largest possible* basis,* and begging Lord Palmerston to support his propositions. I do not know whether the commissary arrived in Italy, nor with whom he conferred; but the *large basis* did not then extend beyond the limits of administrative independence. However, in another despatch, sent off the same day to Ficquelmont by the Baron de Brenner, the Austrian Chargé

* *Cor.* Part II. p. 325.

d’Affaires at Munich, the first indication of an attempt or desire to re-establish an exchange of courtesies between the two enemies pierces through; and it is the Court of Turin which assumes the initiative.

This document merits remark. It was a written announcement of the intentions of his Sardinian Majesty, touching the pacific relations to be observed upon the high seas; but the mode of the communication, its accessories, and the interpretation given to the good offices of Austria, arouse other suspicions. The Marquis Pallavicini, who was charged with the communication, addressed himself to Severine, the Russian minister at Munich, requesting him to act as intermediate, and convey to Austria the wishes of the Court of Turin, and obtain for him an interview with Count Brenner. The interview took place, not, as would have appeared most natural, at the residence of Severine, *because it was necessary not to awaken the attention of the curious idlers of Munich*, but in the house of a certain Voillier, counsellor of the Russian Legation, and it was chosen as the place most fitted for the purpose because situated in a remote and unobserved part of the town.

Pallavicini insisted that the interview should not be delayed an hour. The note was transmitted to Brenner with the intimation, which may be read in the despatch, “that by means of this

communication the Sardinian Government hoped to avoid, as far as lay in its power, the *fatal* consequences, which, the conflict in which Piedmont *unhappily* found herself engaged with Austria, might have upon the interests of the maritime commerce of the two countries." Perhaps there was additional matter not now to be found in the despatch. This note, subsequently forwarded to Ficquelmont, and a copy of which was sent by him to Dietrichstein in London, is not to be found amongst those inserted in the "Correspondence." However, the two conversed upon the affairs of the day, and Brenner observes that the Marquis (Pallavicini) did not appear very secure of the final issue of the enterprise into which Charles Albert had allowed himself to be drawn; but, believing that in case of a collision between the two armies, the advantage would remain with Marshal Radetsky, he appeared to found all his hopes upon the interior difficulties of the empire. "I did not think," writes Brenner to his chief, "*that I ought to repulse an opening which might, in the intention of the Sardinian Government, be equivalent to a first attempt to bring about an agreement with the Imperial cabinet.*"

Pallavicini, it appears, was afterwards disavowed by his government, as having exceeded the limits of his mission. In all respects, however, this affair has more the air of a plot than of a frank and

loyal communication from one government to another ; and the suspicion that it was such is increased if we take into consideration the unsolicited declaration made by Ficquelmont to Lord Palmerston, that “if Austria succeeds in repulsing *the Piedmontese on to their own territory . . . we may offer to England the anticipatory assurance that we shall not pursue our success beyond the provinces which belong to us.*”^{*} Such an anticipatory assurance given to an inert foe, was too likely to prove fatal, and it probably became so.

Dating from this period, requests for their good offices, projects of peace, and communications from Austria to the English Cabinet, are frequently met with in the “Correspondence.” A preliminary project, drawn up by some one who is not named in the collection (I think it was Colloredo) was discussed on the 11th of May in the Council of Ministers at Vienna, and sent on the 12th by Lord Ponsonby to Lord Palmerston. It is the only reasonable project which could have emanated from Vienna. It opens by confessing the omnipotence of the National idea in Italy.[†] It proposes that

^{*} Ficquelmont to Dietrichstein, the 5th of April; communicated to Lord Palmerston on the 13th. *Cor.* Part II. p. 321.

[†] “It is certain that the germ of Italian Nationality, so long buried, but *resuscitated* by the efforts of *Young Italy*, aided by the writings of Gioberti, Balbo, and others, and seconded by the movement of the age, must in any case have ultimately broken through

as soon as the mediation of England and the Pope shall have been accepted and an armistice agreed upon, in virtue of which Austria should keep to the line of the Adige, the municipal councils of the Lombardo-Venetian State should be convoked, and asked whether they would enter into the Italian Confederation—of which Austria would constitute herself the promoter—under her sovereignty, with an archduke for viceroy, a national representation, a constitution, and a special code ; or whether they would prefer absolute independence, granted in consideration of a financial and commercial indemnity to Austria.

By acknowledging the great principle of Italian Nationality, and at the same time placing herself in the position of the foundress of an Italian Confederation, on condition that the confederated states should engage to maintain a permanent and absolute European neutrality, the inviolability of which Italian Confederation should be guaranteed by Europe, as in the case of Switzerland—Austria preserved for herself, according to the view of the originator of the project, the possibility of establishing her success by a favourable vote, and, in any its bonds, and brought on the events which we have witnessed ; for the universal cry of ‘Death to the Austrians’ arose, not first from Lombardy or Venetia, but from the depths of Sicily, where Austria had never exercised any oppressive influence, and traversed all the Peninsula until it reached the Italian Tyrol, which had appeared sincerely attached to the monarchy.”—See *Cor.* Part II. p. 444. “Plan for the Pacification of Italy.”

event, she secured her own influence over the Confederation; detached Italy from the dreaded influence of the French, and condemned her to a condition of permanent weakness, the necessary result of her restriction to the *rôle* of neutrality by the superior powers.

This was in fact the only means of lasting safety open to Austria—the only means she then had of assuming a new position in Europe.

The author of the project demonstrated to her so clearly the ultimate uselessness of victory, that his words deserve to be registered here, as a precious confession wrung from a man adverse to our views, after examination of the facts:—"Even if we are victorious," said he, "what will be the result to Austria? The possession of some impoverished provinces, incapable, for many years, of reimbursing the expenses of the military occupation necessary to keep them in subjection; the weakening of the Austrian monarchy (in all questions relating to France and Russia) by the necessity of keeping an army of 100,000 men in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, in order to guard the provinces of the Tyrol, the Littoral, and the Carniola, against the attacks of external and internal foes; and thence, politically, financially, militarily, and, above all, morally, a diminution of real strength, a complication of interests, and a struggle sometimes concealed, sometimes open, but never ceasing,

against a nation of more than 20,000,000 men, united by the same language, the same religion, and the same hopes." *

This project, precisely because it was the only reasonable one, did not go farther than discussion. Others, less plausible, were successively submitted to the English Cabinet by Austria, on the 12th and 23d of May, and the 9th of June ;† all based upon the separation of Lombardy from Venetia. The first was to be emancipated, either with an hereditary viceroy—the second brother of the Duke of Modena was proposed—and to be independent of the government of Vienna, although still subject to the sovereignty of the Emperor ;—or under the government of a lieutenant of the Emperor, and with an Italian Ministry, but resident at Vienna.

The second was to be granted more or less liberal laws, but without ceasing to be an Austrian province,—the defence of the Tyrol and the superintendence of the communications between Vienna and Trieste required the subjection of Venice. The emancipation of Lombardy was meanwhile to be purchased from the empire at the price of an annual tribute of four millions of florins ; the annual payment of about ten millions of florins, charged

* *Cor.* Part II. p. 445.

† Lord Ponsonby to Lord Palmerston, Vienna, May 12th.—*Cor.* Part II. p. 453. Baron Hummelauer to Lord Palmerston, London, May 23d.—*Idem*, pp. 470 and 477. Lord Ponsonby to Lord Palmerston, Innsbruck, June 9th.—*Idem*, p. 589.

upon the revenue of Venetian Lombardy, as our portion of the national debt of the empire,—and the obligation of fighting the battles of Austria with our troops.

Without Venetia, and with the enemy at Verona and on the line of the Adige, ready at any moment to support and abet our Princes, Lombardy would soon have discovered that these conditions were but illusory. I do not find, however, that they were ever seriously proposed, and it is not improbable that so much expansion in the expression of the pacific intentions of Austria to the English minister, had, in fact, no other aim than—the first alarm being over—to lure Piedmont forward without compromising Austria by direct communications. On the 12th of June an armistice was proposed by Wessenberg to Count Casati, with conditions of peace relating only to Lombardy; but the proposal was only made in order to gain time for reinforcements to arrive; and on the 18th a despatch from Lord Ponsonby informed Lord Palmerston that Radetsky, whose instructions from Wessenberg were not to *conclude* but to *propose* an armistice, had refused to do so, flattering himself that he could gain more by force of arms.*

The history of the diplomacy of this period, so far as it is known to us at present, may be thus summed up:—Cunning on the part of Austria, as

* *Cor.* Part II, p. 618.

usual ; and nullity upon that of Piedmont ; with the exception of the occasional indications that transpire of some mystery which time will perhaps unveil. The only incident which affords some consolation to the heart, and sparkles forth like a diamond amidst this mass of corruption and of abject intrigue, is the sudden and generous fury to which the Lombard population was moved, each time there was a question of making peace with Austria, by accepting the line of the Adige as the frontier, and thus abandoning Venice. They sprang up like a sleeping lion roused by the touch of a red-hot iron, and thundered forth : "*War for all ; liberty for all, or for none !*" Such was the universal cry ; uttered with an energy which must have made any Government, royal or provisional, which had dreamed of compromising with the enemy, recoil. The National idea revived in these moments, as vigorous and potent as in the first days of the insurrection. The French journalists, who, writing of the despatches quoted above, reproached the Lombards for not having eagerly accepted the offer of *peace on the Adige* as an anchor of safety, did but prove their utter ignorance of Austrian policy, as well as their lack of all generous sentiment. For the sake of the future of our nation, this refusal is alone worth more than ten constitutional kingdoms, founded according to the *bon plaisir* of Austria, between the Adige and the Po.

I do not know if *peace upon the Adige* ever positively entered into the designs of the king, or of those about him ; for as there are now two governments at Turin, there were then two in the camp. But I believe most assuredly that this phantom, so cunningly put forward by Austria from the beginning, exercised a fascination over his mind, and contributed to the many delays and to the evil result of the war. Whoever studies, even with the most indulgent eye, the conduct of this unfortunate campaign ; whoever reflects for a moment on the abandonment of the Tyrol, and of the passes of the Alps ; the sacrifice of Venetia, the determination to avoid all maritime warfare, and all attack upon Trieste ; the neglect of every attempt to raise Illyria, and to unite the Italian cause with the other national causes then agitating the empire ; the systematic inaction of the army before the surrender of Peschiera (the solitary success of the Royalists), and even after it, until nearly the middle of July ; and the excessive courtesy shown upon every occasion to Austria,—will certainly consider it at least probable that Charles Albert, possibly, perhaps even half-unconsciously, sought to reserve for himself the refuge, in case of retreat, of a treaty which, without inflicting upon him the disgrace of abandoning a country already won, might probably secure him an aggrandisement of territory in Lombardy.

Sad and inevitable result of confiding a war of independence to a king! Such a war, if not conducted by men possessed of the faith of apostles, must at least be led by chiefs who have everything to gain by victory, and everything to lose by defeat. Charles Albert could not be successful without availing himself of an element—the popular element—which in the future was likely to become dangerous to his own throne; while by failure he was at least certain of preserving his crown. The only way, perhaps, of compelling the people to accept *peace upon the Adige*, was to point the enemy's dagger at their throats, and conclude the peace with the Austrians at the gates of Milan. But once at the gates of Milan, however, the Austrians would have sneeringly destroyed any such secret compact, and flung the fragments in the face of the negotiators.

Meanwhile the war was irretrievably lost, and the decree of the *fusion* did but hasten the catastrophe. The people soon after began to awake from their illusion, and understand the deception practised upon them. They had been assured that when once the contract was made, Genoa would furnish money and Piedmont soldiers; yet the Government continued to urge sacrifices upon them more than ever, and for the first time assumed the language of anxiety. Milan had been spoken of as the future capital, and many other concessions had been mentioned, which it

was said that Piedmont, touched by the fraternal act of fusion, would accord to Lombardy with enthusiasm; yet, instead of these, they heard naught but the odious discussions, breathing hostility and distrust, of the Chamber at Turin. They had been promised that, as soon as their reward was thus secured, Charles Albert and his army would perform prodigies; yet Charles Albert and his army, after the reduction of Peschiera, remained inert, immovable, until the 13th of July.

Then the multitude, awakening like a sick man in a fever-fit, began to be agitated and excited; to lend a suspicious ear to the rumours which arrived from the camp, to the accusations which the more clear-sighted had for some time been making against the Government, to the groans of betrayed Venice, and to the hurrahs of the Croats, who were pushing on unmolested to Azola and Castel Goffredo. Almost every evening the square of San Fedale, where the palace of the Government was situated, was filled by the people demanding news from the camp; and almost every evening Casati repeated to them from the window the customary phrase that "they were not to fear; that victory was certain: the approaching surrender of Verona would regain all the fallen towns of Venetia, and the tri-coloured banner would soon float over the walls of Mantua; thanks to the efforts of the magnanimous king and his brave Piedmontese army."

Then they fenced off the growing agitation by issuing decrees for levies, armaments, loans, and wretched vexatious police-regulations. These last had a very injurious effect, however, and produced much irritation. The decree for a levy was a proper measure, but, owing to the bad organisation of the ministry of war, it was tardy and inefficacious in execution. The recruits were so deficient in arms, uniforms, officers, and all the elements which constitute men soldiers, both in their own eyes and in those of others, that the first battalions who were hurried to the camp presented all the outward appearance of a body of men hastily jumbled together for the sole purpose of quieting the population and preventing them from rising. But in this total absence of all military preparation,—this hurrying away, in mere linen vests and knapsacks, of men destined to encounter the snows of the Tonale and the Stelvio,—the people at length saw irrefragable proof of the culpable inertia of the three last months. They became still more irritated, and now, to the hundred other causes which had operated to extinguish all popular enthusiasm and all insurrectionary energy, was added an universal sense of distrust; the word *treason*, so fatal to every enterprise, began to circulate among the masses.

The proposal was many times made to me,

and that by well-organised forces, to overthrow the Provisional Government, and attempt to save the country through other men. The undertaking would have been easy; but to what end? A sudden change of government in Milan would have lighted up a civil war, and without saving the country from the Austrians, would have cast a stain upon the Republican banner in the eyes of the still blinded masses of the rest of Italy. The act of *fusion* gave the king the right of sending troops to *protect order and his government*. We should have found ourselves confronted by the bayonets of our Italian brothers, and Austria would have profited by our discords, and the consequent dismemberment of our forces. The inevitable hesitation and wavering of the provinces, moreover, would have left the newly-constituted government in want of arms, help, money, and credit, just when they were most needed, and deprived them of all means of energetic action.

I therefore refused. I did more: I prevented the attempt. In our eyes the fate of the war had long been decided. We foresaw that the royal army would be routed and the country left defenceless, as may be seen by a reference to the articles in our journal, *L'Italia del popolo*, of that date. It did not require the intuition of genius to foretell the course which events subsequently took, and which it was no longer in human power to prevent.

One last illusive hope we yet cherished. It was that when Milan should be attacked by the Austrian forces, the people would be aroused to sufficient energy to rekindle the Lombard war. Milan was and is the city of wonders. We hoped that in the extremity of danger and despair of all aid, from the probable withdrawal of the king's forces within their own frontiers, the thunder of Austrian cannon at their gates might once again make giants of the people of the barricades of March. Then, freed from the impediment of the incapable government, which—with the exception of some few of its members—would have been the first to take flight,—delivered from all fear of treason, and delivered, above all, from the abhorred reproach of exciting to civil war,—the Republicans, who, in the last days had recovered all their influence with the multitude, would have organised and directed a tremendous resistance of the people of the city. For such a battle, arms, ammunition, and provisions, abounded. The Austrian army would have had a hostile population at its back ; our forces held all Upper Lombardy, heroic Brescia, Bergamo, and the Valtelina ; Venice still held out ; and on the other side of the Po, the Romans—cured of their princely illusions—were burning with an excitement and enthusiasm which an obstinate resistance at Milan might kindle into a flame. All our thoughts were therefore directed to prepare

for this; and this was the object of the contact and communications we maintained with the Lombard troops in the provinces, which gave rise to so much calumny, and excited so much alarm among those who obstinately persisted in misinterpreting us. But the success of this plan depended on one condition: *that Milan should be left to herself*; and even this chance was denied us. The king, who had lost Venetian Lombardy, gave the fatal promise to defend Milan!

On the very same day that the Piedmontese army—victims of the incapacity, if not worse, of its chiefs—after having performed prodigies of useless valour under Sonnaz at Volta, commenced their retreat; a retreat which, beginning at the Mincio, never stopped till it had reached the Ticino,—that same Fava, half spy, half man of letters, to whom I have already had occasion to refer, proclaimed in the streets of Milan the victory of the magnanimous king, with capture of banners and of thousands of prisoners.

I, who knew the truth, sent a friend to the Government—which I had not seen since the decree of the 12th of May—to entreat them not to provoke the people to ferocity of reaction by thus deceiving them to the very last. But they were really deceived themselves by the Sardinian embassy. The fatal truth became known, however, in the course of the day, and then the

Government, alarmed, and for the first time conscious of its own impotence, suddenly remembered that there were men in Milan who truly loved their country although they were Republicans, and were accused but two months before of being *the allies of Austria*.

The necessity of a concentration of power for the defence of the city was now universally recognised. I was asked to name the citizens into whose hands this power should be confided, and I pointed out Maestri, Restelli, and Fanti. The first was a Republican of old; the second had not been one until then, and had, as I knew, laboured hard in Venice—mistakenly, but in good faith—for the fusion; the third was more of a soldier than politician. The defence of the city, and not the triumph of our own party, directed my choice. They were honest, well-meaning, and capable men. As soon as the opposition made by the Provisional Government to Fanti—whom General Zucchi refused to obey because of less ancient grade than himself—had been overcome, the three constituted themselves into a *Committee of Defence* on the 28th of July. The Government, null and inactive, remained shut up in their palace.

In spite of the errors, almost inevitable, in the anomalous situation produced by the fusion, the first being that of not standing alone in their undertaking, but allowing ministers and generals

of the king to mingle in their discussions, the committee went to work with surprising activity, and did more in three days than the Provisional Government had done in three months. All its measures are detailed in the book of Cattaneo already cited, and in a well-known work published by Maestri and Restelli;* nor is it within my province to repeat them in this short recital.

The people awakened again to glorious activity; they ran through the streets demanding everywhere the reappearance of the tri-coloured flag, in token of defiance to the coming enemy; they prepared arms for the defence; they *scented their own battle*, and hailed it with delight. The attitude of Milan in those days was the most eloquent reply which could be made to the senseless accusations of our enemies; as well as the most emphatic condemnation of the royal war and of the system of the *Moderate* party.

As for us, our hearts throbbed with unaccustomed joy and new-born hope. The reawakening of the people revived all that capacity of love, all that oblivion of the wretched past, which had sanctified the first days of the revolution.

Thus full of juvenile illusion were we, after twenty years of deceptions and of exile! The Italians had sinned against Eternal Truth, and

* *Gli ultimi tristissimi fatti di Milano*, by Restelli and Maestri.

against National unity; and we had forgotten that every fault carries its inevitable expiation with it.

On the night of the 3d of August, Fanti and Restelli went to Lodi, to ask Charles Albert what were his intentions. They did not see him, but heard from General Bava that "the king would march to the defence of Milan," I met Fanti on his return, and foresaw ruin. I remember how I conjured him to prepare plans of defence *as if the Piedmontese army were coming only to go away again*; but he, a soldier before all things, as ulterior facts have too clearly shown, was fascinated by the idea of the 40,000 soldiers soon to arrive, and only smiled at my scepticism.

On the 3d, one General Olivieri made his appearance, the bearer of a royal decree, naming him, with the Marquis Montezemolo and the Marquis Strigelli, military commissioners; and these three, in virtue of the fusion, assumed to themselves all executive power. I saw them and heard their words to the multitude assembled under the windows of their palace; I saw Fanti again: I traversed the streets of Milan, studying the faces and the words of men, and I despaired. The people believed themselves saved; they were therefore irrevocably lost. I left the city—God alone knows with what grief—and joined Garibaldi's column at Bergamo.

The next day Charles Albert entered Milan.

How, having brought the articles of capitulation with him, he nevertheless swore to defend the city, and ordered, as a preparatory step, that all such buildings as might serve the enemy should be burnt; how, after having on the 4th, in the presence of a deputation of the National Guard, taken a solemn oath, in his own name and in that of his sons and of the army, to defend Milan, he, yet, on the 5th while the people were burning with eagerness for the battle, declared that the capitulation of Milan was *an accomplished fact*;—how, at this news, a transport of fury seized upon the population, in which the king's life was threatened; what scenes occurred at the Greppi Palace, where renewed verbal and written promises were made by Charles Albert, declaring that, moved by the unanimous wish of the people, he was resolved to fight to the death, and his secret and cowardly flight immediately after;—all these facts, with details which render the monarchy for ever infamous, may be found fully related in the narrative of the Committee of Defence, and the terrible chapter of Cattaneo, entitled "*La Consegna*."

It is of little import whether the king was or was not himself the traitor; of little import the date at which he or others signed the act of treason; of little import on the brow of which individual history will affix the brand of infamy. The true import of these records is quite other. He

who does not see in the history of this mortal agony of a people, which had been, was then, and will again be great, a proof of the *absolute impotence of the monarchy*, and the destruction of all dynastic, aristocratic, and *Moderate* illusions, is possessed of neither heart, intellect, love for Italy, nor faith in the future.

In the face of this tremendous spectacle of a people abandoned and a monarchy in flight, a little banner was raised at Monza in the midst of those brave men of the Garibaldi legion, who served under Giacomo Medici; the modest banner of a company, inscribed with the words: "*God and the People*;" and it was I—chosen by the affection of those young men—who bore it.* It was the

* The following is the short account which Giacomo Medici (now General Medici) himself wrote of the affair of Monza :—

"After the engagement of Custoza, at the end of which Charles Albert fell back on Milan, General Garibaldi, then at Bergamo with a small body of Lombard Republican volunteers (about 4000 altogether), believing that the King of Piedmont, who was still at the head of an army of 40,000 men, would defend the capital of Lombardy, as he had promised, to the utmost—conceived the bold project of pushing forward and marching towards Milan. His object was to harass the left flank of the Austrians in their pursuit of the Piedmontese army, and thus to come in aid of the future operations which the King's resistance at Milan might bring about.

"In fact, on the morning of the 3d of August 1848, Garibaldi, with his division, was just about to quit Bergamo, in order, by forced marches, to reach Monza, when we saw appear amongst us, rifle on shoulder, Mazzini, asking to join our ranks as a simple soldier of the legion I commanded, which was to form the vanguard of Garibaldi's division. A general acclamation saluted the

banner of a new life arising from the ruins of the past; and six months later it floated, resplendent with new lustre, on the summit of the Capitol—the symbol of our Italian future. Milan having fallen, all Lombardy fell. The prejudice that the destinies of a whole country are concentrated in the fate of the metropolis, was still rooted in the public mind; the result of the traditional customs of a monarchy, and the theories of a royal war. In cases of foreign invasion the true capital of a nation is

great Italian, and the legion unanimously confided its banner, which bore the device ‘*God and the People*,’ to his charge.

“As soon as Mazzini’s arrival was known at Bergamo, the population ran to see him. They pressed around him, they begged him to speak. All who heard him must remember his discourse. He recommended raising barricades to defend the town in case of attack, whilst we should march on Milan; and he conjured them, whatever might happen, to love Italy always, and never to despair of her redemption. His words were received with enthusiasm, and the column left amid marks of the deepest sympathy.

“The march was very fatiguing—rain fell in torrents, we were drenched to the skin. Although accustomed to a life of study, and little fit for the violent exertion of forced marches, his constancy and serenity never forsook him for an instant, and notwithstanding our counsels—for we feared for his physical strength—he would never stay behind nor leave the column. It happened even that, seeing one of our youngest volunteers clothed only in linen, and consequently with no protection against the rain and sudden cold, he forced him to accept and wear his own cloak.

“Arrived at Monza, we heard the fatal news of the capitulation of Milan, and learned that a numerous body of Austrian cavalry had been sent against us, and was already, on the other side, at the gates of Monza.

“Garibaldi, very inferior in forces, not wishing to expose his small body to utter and useless destruction, gave orders to fall back

wheresoever the banner of the Nation is still held aloft by citizens determined to live a free life or die a glorious death. But this truth was not then felt; and, moreover, the provinces were demoralised by the dissensions to which the act of fusion had given rise, while Durando, Griffini, and others, the men who might have continued the war in the mountainous parts of Lombardy, treating Venice as the capital of Venetian Lombardy, were generals

upon Como, and placed me with my column as rear-guard, in order to cover the retreat.

“For youthful volunteers, whose greatest wish was to fight, the order to retreat was a signal of discouragement, and was accompanied, during the first moments, with some disorder. Happily, this did not occur in my rear-guard. From Monza to Como, my column, always pursued by the enemy, and menaced with destruction at every moment by a very superior force, never wavered, but remained compact and united; always showing itself ready to repulse all attack, and kept the enemy in check to the last.

“In this march, full of danger and difficulty, the strength of soul, intrepidity, and decision, which Mazzini possesses in such a high degree, never failed, and were the admiration of the bravest amongst us. His presence, his words, the example of his courage, animated our young soldiers, who were, besides, proud of partaking such dangers with him; and all decided, Mazzini amongst the first, in case of an engagement, to perish to the last man for the defence of the faith of which he had been the apostle, and for which he was ready to become the martyr. This resolute determination contributed much to maintain that order and that firm attitude which saved the rest of the division.

“These few details are too honourable to the character of Mazzini to remain unknown. For us, who were witnesses of them, his conduct has been a proof that to the greatest qualities of the civilian he joins the courage and intrepidity of the soldier.—GIACOMO MEDICI.—*Translator's Note:*

of the king, and therefore bound by the ignominious pact of capitulation. By yielding up the strong places to the enemy, they contrived to prevent all possibility of popular resistance, and to drive the volunteers of March back to Piedmont, some of them even by routes traced by an Austrian pen. Garibaldi alone kept the field as long as it was, humanly speaking, possible; yielding only to overpowering numbers the last of all, and without making any compromise.

The miserable history of the Sardo-Lombardo *Moderates* does not end with the surrender of Milan to the Austrians. Like a snake cut in two parts, they continued to move, although powerless and without hope of life; the tail—the Provisional Government transformed into the Lombard *Consulta*—turning towards the Lombardo-Venetian State; the head—the Cabinet of Turin and the men of the *Royal Confederation*—directing its movements against the centre of Italy; where the national idea, driven from the north, had taken refuge, and was regaining strength. Utterly unable to be useful, they set to work resolutely to injure; unable *to do*, they endeavoured *to undo*. They laboured, as they still labour, to dissolve. But it is no part of my purpose to follow out their crooked windings here. The fatal influence which some of them, seemingly reconciled and repentant, sought to exercise at Venice—the intrigues which, by deceiving several

of our party, contributed much to the unfortunate issue of the attempt made in the Val d'Intelvi to rekindle the flame of insurrection in Upper Lombardy—the false hopes by which they contrived to introduce an element of dissolution into the heart of the Lombard emigration—the projects for invading Tuscany—the opposition, only too successful, to the unity of Central Italy—and last, the infamous defeat of Novara; might form, and some day, perhaps, will form an additional page to this sketch. Documents are being prepared for the press in Italian Switzerland which may form a commentary upon most of the facts which are only glanced at here.

For the present this must suffice; the soul, weary of lingering amidst this mass of corruption, has need of repose and relief in contemplation of the future.

Even now those who remain of the *Moderates*, broken up into as many small factions as there are petty personal ideas and paltry local ambitions among them, are working in darkness, some to seduce unhappy Lombardy into new illusions, new *Monarchical Piedmontese* intrigues; some to raise up petty and useless conspiracies in Tuscany, in favour of the very men who combated the liberal instincts of the populations in Piedmont; while others are seeking to turn to account the general hatred of a sacerdotal government in order to pro-

pose—true profanation of the grand idea of unity that sprang from Rome—a dismemberment of the Roman provinces, and—serving perhaps unwittingly the views of Austria—a fusion with the states of the Duke of Modena! But to unveil such intrigues is sufficient to destroy them, and if the Italians, after the royal war of 1848, after the defeat of Novara, after the proved incapacity (to say no worse) of the chiefs of the *Moderate* faction on the one hand, and the prodigies of popular valour and constancy accomplished by Republican Rome and Venice on the other, should still waver in their choice between the two banners, they would indeed be unworthy of liberty.

No; the lessons written with the tears of our mothers and the blood of our best men, during the last two years, cannot be lost. The experiment is complete. Those men of false or perverted minds who have endeavoured to apply to new-born Italy a doctrine which has been tried during twenty or thirty years and found wanting even in France, may yet for a while succeed in producing ministerial *modifications*, in weaving intrigues and misleading timid and inexperienced men; but never again, under whatever name they disguise themselves, will they gain the direction of the Italian movement. From the first day when they usurped that direction, they have lacked the right which earnest and deep-rooted convictions give,

and which awakens trust in others. They declared themselves men of *opportunity*, of compromise, of lies, which they deemed useful. Nor can they now bring in aid of their system the pretexts which might have been afforded to them by the situation of Europe some years ago. The state of Europe has been palpably, visibly transformed within these last two years. Before, the question was between Despotism and Limited Monarchy; now it is in fact between Royalty and Republicanism. From whatever quarter it may come, the first revolutionary cry will be republican. If the Italian revolution desires to strengthen itself by an alliance with the European popular movement, it must be republican. The Utopias of the *Moderates* will neither bestow a friend nor withdraw an enemy from the Italian cause.

Now that the Pope has sunk for ever, that Charles Albert has sunk for ever, and that Rome has spoken, there no longer exists, there can no longer exist—and it is well to repeat it—any party in Italy but one—the National party.

And the political faith of this National party is summed up in the following principles:—

Italy *wills* to be a Nation, both for her own sake and for the sake of others; by right and from duty; by right of collective life and collective education; from duty towards universal humanity, in which she has a mission to fulfil, a truth to promulgate, an idea to diffuse.

Italy wills to be One Nation : one, not in Napoleonic unity, in exaggerated administrative centralisation, which annihilates the liberty of the members for the sake of the head or metropolis, and of a government ; but in the unity of a constitution, and of an assembly, the interpreter of that constitution ; in the unity of international relations, of an army, of a code, and of education ; unity harmonised with the existence of such local divisions as are indicated by local characteristics and traditions, and with the vigorous activity of large and powerful *communes*, participating to the fullest extent possible in the supreme power, by election, and endowed with all the necessary powers to carry out the aim of their special association ; the absence of which renders them at present powerless and necessarily subservient to the Central Government.

The *autonomy* of the separate states into which Italy is at present divided, is an historic error. These states have not arisen by the effort of their own peculiar and spontaneous vitality, but have been formed by the *bon plaisir* of foreign or domestic tyranny. A confederation between states thus constituted would stifle all the power of the Italian mission in Europe ; would educate their inhabitants to a fatal rivalry ; would excite dangerous ambitions ; which, together with the inevitable influence exercised over the various states by foreign

governments, would, sooner or later, destroy alike all concord and all liberty in Italy.

Italy wills to be a Nation of free and equal brothers, associated in a work of common progress. Thought, labour, and property which is created by labour, are sacred things in her eyes; and sacred also is the right—proportioned to the duties accomplished—of all men to the free and full development of their faculties and powers, of their intellect and of their hearts.

The Italian problem, like the problem of humanity, is one of education. Italy desires the progressive improvement of all her children. She reverences genius and virtue, not riches and brute force. She desires instructors, not masters; the worship of Truth, not of Falsehood or of Chance. She believes in God and the People; not in the Pope or the Princes. And in order that a true People may exist, it is necessary that they should—through action and self-sacrifice—achieve the consciousness of their rights and of their duties. Independence—that is to say, the destruction of the external and internal obstacles to the constitution of Italy's National existence—ought to be achieved, not *for* the people, but *by* the people. The battle must be fought by all, the victory must be for all.

Insurrection is the battle necessary for the accomplishment of this revolution—that is to say, of Nationality. The insurrection therefore must be

national; it must spring up on every side, raise everywhere the same banner, and proclaim everywhere the same faith and the same aim. Where-soever it arise, it must be in the name of all Italy, and it must never cease until the emancipation of all Italy is accomplished.

Insurrection ends where the revolution begins. The first is war ; the second a peaceful manifestation. Insurrection and revolution ought therefore to be governed by different rules and laws.

In the first period all is provisional ; but when the country is once freed from the Alps to the sea, the *National Constituent* assembled in *Rome*—the capital and sacred city of the nation—will proclaim the Thought of the People to Italy and to Europe. And God will bless their labours.

All those who accept these fundamental principles belong to the National party. Outside of this, there are, there can be, only *factions*: they may agitate, but they have no real vitality: they may injure and corrupt, they cannot create.

Create !—To create a people ! Young men of Italy, it is time that you should comprehend how grand, how holy and religious is the mission confided to you by God. It can never be accomplished through crooked ways ; by court intrigues, by false doctrines of expediency ; nor by compacts formed with the intention of breaking them at the first favourable opportunity ; but only through long

effort, and through the living example of austere virtue given to the multitude ; by the sweat of the soul ; by the sacrifice of your blood ; by the ceaseless preaching of truth ; by the boldness of faith ; by the solemn, unfailing, unchanging enthusiasm, superior to every sorrow, that informs the spirit of men who acknowledge no master save God ; no instrument but the people ; no path save the straight line ; no aim but the future of Italy.

Be ye such, and fear nothing. But drive the traffickers, the place-hunters from the Temple. Reject inexorably the petty Macchiavellis of the ante-chamber, the would-be diplomatists, who insinuate themselves into your ranks in order to whisper of friendly courts and emancipating princes. What can you gain from them save absurd illusions, calculated only to disturb the unity of the National party, and to generate corruption in its ranks ? It is but two years since they held in their hands the whole soul and strength of the nation ; a king whom the masses hailed as the coming conqueror of independence, a pope whom the millions venerated as the initiator of liberty ; and they have given you—the armistice of Salasco and the defeat of Novara—ruin and disgrace !

At present they are but puppets in the hands of other courtiers and other diplomatists, whom a longer course of deceit and baseness has rendered more sagacious than they ; and since they can no

longer evoke the former phantoms, they are reduced to wavering between the Duke of Modena and the effeminate prince who signed the peace with Austria. But such a conflict is approaching between the two Principles in Europe, that all petty princes, monarchical conspirators, and paltry projects of *fusions*, will be scattered and swept away like the weeds of the field before a hurricane.

The *Royal War* has given a terrible lesson to Lombardy, and imposed a severe obligation upon Piedmont.

The Lombards know now that the secret of emancipation is a *problem of direction*. Had they not, in their blind reverence for the show of force, put traitors in their own camp; had they trusted more in Italy than in the *King* of Piedmont; had they, instead of confiding the direction of the war to a *coterie* of courtiers, conferred it on such men as those who guided the insurrection, they would have won the day. Sooner or later the days of March may, must be, renewed. Let them then remember the lesson!

The Piedmontese have incurred the obligation of proving to Italy and Europe that they are Italians, and not the mere slaves of a royal family; that they marched to battle on the plains of Lombardy—not as the blind instruments of the ambitious will of one man, or of a few intriguers, but as the armed apostles of the noblest cause with which

God can inspire the human breast—the liberty of the fatherland, the creation of a people. They have incurred the obligation of proving that *they* were neither cowards nor traitors, but were themselves deceived and vanquished through the faults of others. They have incurred the obligation of destroying the treaty which convicts them of impotence ; of restoring their army to its former renown, unjustly lost ; of washing out the stain of defeat, and of declaring to their still doubting brothers : *We are the Swords of Italy.*

Be their banner the banner of twenty-six millions of freemen ; their rallying cry : Rome and Milan, Unity and Independence ! their army, the first legion of the National Italian Army.

This will be a quite other glory from that of being a fragment of a royalty without basis or future ; and oscillating for ever, thanks to its false or feeble rulers, between the baton of Austria and the yoke of the Jesuits.

Let Lombardy and Piedmont pay their debts to the nation ; Rome and Italy will not be wanting.

TO THE
MEMORY OF THE MARTYRS OF COSENZA,
Executed on the 25th of July 1844.

[THE following address was delivered by Mazzini at Milan on the 25th of July 1848, at the request of the "National Association," on the occasion of a solemn commemoration of the anniversary of the death of the brothers Bandiera and their fellow-martyrs.]

When I was commissioned by you, young men, to proffer in this temple a few words sacred to the memory of the brothers Bandiera and their fellow-martyrs at Cosenza, I thought that some of those who heard me might exclaim with noble indignation, "Wherefore lament over the dead? The martyrs of liberty are only worthily honoured by winning the battle they have begun; Cosenza, the land where they fell, is enslaved; Venice, the city of their birth, is begirt by foreign foes. Let us emancipate them, and until that moment let no words pass our lips save words of war."

But another thought arose, saying, "Why have we not conquered? Why is it that, whilst we are

fighting for independence in the North of Italy, liberty is perishing in the South? Why is it that a war, which should have sprung to the Alps with the bound of a lion, has dragged itself along for four months, with the slow uncertain motion of the scorpion surrounded by a circle of fire? How has the rapid and powerful intuition of a people newly arisen to life been converted into the weary helpless effort of the sick man turning from side to side? Ah! had we all arisen in the sanctity of the idea for which our martyrs died; had the holy standard of their faith preceded our youth to battle; had we reached that unity of life which was in them so powerful, and made of our every action a thought, and of our every thought an action; had we devoutly gathered up their last words in our hearts, and learned from them that Liberty and Independence are one, that God and the People, the Fatherland and Humanity, are the two inseparable terms of the device of every people striving to become a nation; that Italy can have no true life till she be One, holy in the equality and love of all her children, great in the worship of eternal truth, and consecrated to a lofty mission, a moral priesthood among the peoples of Europe,—we should now have had, not war, but victory; Cosenza would not be compelled to venerate the memory of her martyrs in secret, nor Venice be restrained from honouring them with a

monument ; and we, gathered here together, might gladly invoke their sacred names, without uncertainty as to our future destiny, or a cloud of sadness on our brows, and say to those precursor souls, *Rejoice ! for your spirit is incarnate in your brethren, and they are worthy of you.*

The idea which they worshipped, young men, does not as yet shine forth in its full purity and integrity upon your banner. The sublime programme which they, dying, bequeathed to the rising Italian generation, is yours ; but mutilated, broken up into fragments by the false doctrines, which, elsewhere overthrown, have taken refuge amongst us. I look around, and I see the struggles of desperate populations, an alternation of generous rage and of unworthy repose ; of shouts for freedom, and of formulæ of servitude, throughout all parts of our Peninsula ; but the soul of the country, where is it ? What unity is there in this unequal and manifold movement—where is the Word that should dominate the hundred diverse and opposing counsels which mislead or seduce the multitude ? I hear phrases usurping the National omnipotence—"The Italy of the *North—the League of the States—Federative compacts between Princes,*" but ITALY, where is it ? Where is the common country, the country which the Bandiera hailed as thrice Initiatrix of a new era of European civilisation ?

Intoxicated with our first victories, improvident for the future, we forgot the idea revealed by God to those who suffered ; and God has punished our forgetfulness by deferring our triumph. The Italian movement, my countrymen, is, by decree of Providence, that of Europe. We arise to give a pledge of moral progress to the European world. But neither political fictions, nor dynastic aggrandisements, nor theories of expediency, can transform or renovate the life of the peoples. Humanity lives and moves through faith ; great principles are the guiding-stars that lead Europe towards the future. Let us turn to the graves of our martyrs, and ask inspiration of those who died for us all, and we shall find the secret of victory in the adoration of a faith. The angel of martyrdom and the angel of victory are brothers ; but the one looks up to heaven, and the other looks down to earth ; and it is when, from epoch to epoch, their glance meets between earth and heaven, that creation is embellished with a new life, and a people arises from the cradle or the tomb, evangelist or prophet.

I will sum up for you in a few words this *faith* of our martyrs ; their external life is known to you all ; it is now matter of history, and I need not recall it to you.

The faith of the brothers Bandiera, which was and is our own, was based upon a few simple un-

controvertible truths, which few indeed venture to declare false, but which are nevertheless forgotten or betrayed by most.—

God and the People.

God, at the summit of the social edifice ; the people, the universality of our brethren, at the base. God, the Father and Educator ; the people, the progressive interpreter of his Law.

No true society can exist without a common belief and a common aim. Religion declares the belief and the aim. Politics regulate society in the practical realisation of that belief, and prepare the means of attaining that aim. Religion represents the Principle, politics the application. There is but one sun in heaven for all the earth. There is one law for all those who people the earth. It is alike the law of the human being and of collective humanity. We are placed here below, not for the capricious exercise of our own individual faculties—our faculties and liberty are the *means*, not the *end*,—not to work out our own happiness upon earth ; happiness can only be reached elsewhere, and there God works for us ; but to consecrate our existence to the discovery of a portion of the Divine Law ; to practise it as far as our individual circumstances and powers allow, and to diffuse the knowledge and love of it among our brethren.

We are here below to labour fraternally to

build up the unity of the human family, so that the day may come when it shall represent a *single sheepfold with a single shepherd*,—the Spirit of God, the Law.

To aid our search after truth, God has given to us tradition—the voice of anterior humanity—and the voice of our own conscience. Wheresoever these accord, is truth; wheresoever they are opposed, is error. To attain a harmony and consistence between the conscience of the individual and the conscience of humanity, no sacrifice is too great. The Family, the City, the Fatherland and Humanity, are but different spheres in which to exercise our activity and our power of sacrifice towards this great aim. God watches from above the inevitable progress of humanity, and from time to time he raises up the great in genius, in love, in thought, or in action, as priests of his truth, and guides to the multitude on their way.

These principles,—indicated in their letters, in their proclamations, and in their conversations,—with a profound sense of the mission entrusted by God to the individual and to humanity, were to Attilio and Emilio Bandiera, and their fellow-martyrs, the guide and comfort of a weary life; and, when men and circumstances had alike betrayed them, these principles sustained them in death, in religious serenity and calm certainty of

the realisation of their immortal hopes for the future of Italy. The immense energy of their souls arose from the intense love which informed their faith. And, could they now arise from the grave and speak to you, they would, believe me, address you, though with a power very different from that which is given to me, in counsel not unlike this which I now offer to you.

Love ! love is the flight of the soul towards God ; towards the great, the sublime, and the beautiful, which are the shadow of God upon earth. Love your family, the partner of your life, those around you ready to share your joys and sorrows ; love the dead who were dear to you and to whom you were dear. But let your love be the love taught you by Dante and by us—the love of souls that aspire together ; do not grovel on the earth in search of a felicity which it is not the destiny of the creature to reach here below ; do not yield to a delusion which inevitably would degrade you into egotism. To love is to give and take a promise for the future. God has given us love, that the weary soul may give and receive support upon the way of life. It is a flower springing up on the path of duty ; but it cannot change its course. Purify, strengthen, and improve yourselves by loving. Act always—even at the price of increasing her earthly trials—so that the sister soul united to your own may never need, here or

elsewhere, to blush through you or for you. The time will come when, from the height of a new life, embracing the whole past and comprehending its secret, you will smile together at the sorrows you have endured, the trials you have overcome.

Love your country. Your country is the land where your parents sleep, where is spoken that language in which the chosen of your heart blushing whispered the first word of love ; it is the home that God has given you, that by striving to perfect yourselves therein, you may prepare to ascend to him. It is your name, your glory, your sign among the people. Give to it your thoughts, your counsels, your blood. Raise it up, great and beautiful as it was foretold by our great men. And see that you leave it uncontaminated by any trace of falsehood or of servitude ; unprofaned by dismemberment. Let it be one, as the thought of God. You are twenty-five millions of men, endowed with active, splendid faculties ; possessing a tradition of glory the envy of the nations of Europe ; an immense future is before you ; you lift your eyes to the loveliest heaven, and around you smiles the loveliest land in Europe ; you are encircled by the Alps and the sea, boundaries traced out by the finger of God for a people of giants—you are bound to be such, or nothing. Let not a man of that twenty-five millions remain excluded from the fraternal bond destined to join

you together ; let not a glance be raised to that heaven which is not that of a free man. Let Rome be the ark of your redemption, the temple of your nation. Has she not twice been the temple of the destinies of Europe ? In Rome two extinct worlds, the Pagan and the Papal, are superposed like the double jewels of a diadem ; draw from these a third world greater than the two. From Rome, the holy city, the city of love (Amor) the purest and wisest among you, elected by the vote and fortified by the inspiration of a whole people, shall dictate the Pact that shall make us one, and represent us in the future alliance of the peoples. Until then you will either have no country, or have her contaminated and profaned.

Love Humanity. You can only ascertain your own mission from the aim set by God before humanity at large. God has given you your country as cradle, and humanity as mother ; you cannot rightly love your brethren of the cradle if you love not the common mother. Beyond the Alps, beyond the sea, are other peoples now fighting or preparing to fight the holy fight of independence, of nationality, of liberty ; other peoples striving by different routes to reach the same goal,—improvement, association, and the foundation of an Authority which shall put an end to moral anarchy and re-link earth to heaven ; an authority which mankind may love and obey without remorse

or shame. Unite with them ; they will unite with you. Do not invoke their aid where your single arm can suffice to conquer ; but say to them that the hour will shortly sound for a terrible struggle between right and blind force, and that in that hour you will ever be found with those who have raised the same banner as yourselves.

And love, young men, love and venerate the ideal. . The ideal is the Word of God. High above every country, high above humanity, is the country of the spirit, the city of the soul, in which all are brethren who believe in the inviolability of thought, and in the dignity of our immortal soul ; and the baptism of this fraternity is martyrdom. From that high sphere spring the *principles* which alone can redeem the peoples. Arise for the sake of these, and not from impatience of suffering or dread of evil. Anger, pride, ambition, and the desire of material prosperity, are arms common alike to the peoples and their oppressors, and even should you conquer with these to-day, you would fall again to-morrow , but principles belong to the peoples alone, and their oppressors can find no arms to oppose to them. Adore enthusiasm, the dreams of the virgin soul, and the visions of early youth, for they are a perfume of paradise which the soul retains in issuing from the hands of its Creator. Respect above all things your conscience ; have upon your lips the truth implanted by God

in your hearts, and, while labouring in harmony, even with those who differ from you, in all that tends to the emancipation of our soil, yet ever bear your own banner erect, and boldly promulgate your own faith.

Such words, young men, would the martyrs of Cosenza have spoken, had they been living amongst you ; and here, where it may be that, invoked by our love, their holy spirits hover near us, I call upon you to gather them up in your hearts and to make of them a treasure amid the storms that yet threaten you ; storms which, with the name of our martyrs on your lips and their faith in your hearts, you will overcome.

God be with you, and bless Italy !

[The next documents published in the Italian edition of Mazzini's works are the *Letter to Pius IX.*, of which he has given a summary in the "*Royalty and Republicanism*," an address to the Lombards, from the Italian National Association at Paris, on the occasion of the insurrection of Milan, written by him before going to Italy, and a selection from the articles he published in a Milanese journal, *L'Italia del Popolo* (*the Italy of the people*), upon the most important topics of that day. The limits of this edition do not admit of their republication here. Moreover, those questions upon which Mazzini and the few Republicans who remained faithful to their principles in that time of trial and temptation stood alone, have long since been decided in their favour by time and events. Such are the question of Italian *Unity* as opposed to *Federalism* and the idea of an *Italy of the North*;—the inauspicious *fusion* of Lombardy with the Piedmontese monarchy—the disastrous mismanagement of the war, etc.

These are followed by a pamphlet entitled "*Ai Giovani*" (*To the Young*), bearing the following epigraph from Euclid: "*The right line is the shortest that can be drawn between two given points.*" It was published in Switzerland, after Milan had again

fallen into the hands of the Austrians ; it recapitulated the moral causes which had fatally led to the downfall of Lombardy by the substitution of false theories of opportunity and expediency for great principles, and once again indignantly warned the youth of Italy that nations cannot be regenerated by a lie.]

When I arrived in Italy, the time for remedying the errors I have described above was almost over. The *Moderates* governed everything ; the rest blindly followed their lead, and the people, amongst whom they had spread the most atrocious calumnies against the Republicans, had still unbounded faith in the king.

Two paths were open to a man holding my belief :—

To withdraw entirely, and even as Thræseus, covering his head with his mantle, withdrew from the cowardly and corrupted senate, abandon a land forgetful of principle and doomed to destruction ; to retrace my steps into exile, and in exile hold aloft the Republican flag ; to make known the whole truth, regardless of men and things, unheeded or condemned by the living, so that posterity should at a future day acknowledge it, and admire one who had never failed to proclaim it,—and this was the path pointed out by every indignant impulse of my own heart :—or to resign myself to the actual force

of circumstances, and endeavour gradually to modify them so far as to achieve one step in advance towards one at least of the terms of our problem—unity ;—to abstain from forsaking my brothers although mistaken, and avoid interrupting the emancipatory tradition already initiated ; to refute by patient sincerity and mournful reverence for the country's will those accusations of intolerance and of an exclusive and dictatorial spirit cast upon the Republicans ; to hold my peace, without apostatising as to one portion of the truth, for the sake of the possible realisation of the other part, and, unsustained by their illusions, tread with the people the *via crucis* of deceptions they were destined to pass through, so as to have one day the right to say to them: *I was with you in your sufferings, remember* ;—at any rate to teach them a lesson of love and of the constant duty of sacrifice, even the sacrifice of reputation, and, though not of truth itself, of the *pride* of truth, for the sake of that we love.

This was the path I chose.

Some men, many years afterwards—only Giuseppe Sirtori at the time—reproached me for that choice.

To Sirtori, who in March 1848 founded a democratic society in Milan, and wrote to me on his departure for Venice that I was a *deserter* from the Republican faith, no answer is required. He is now one of the king's generals, and a believer

in the omnipotence of the Royal *Statuto*; I am still an exile and a Republican.

But to others, to my brothers in belief, I will say that I have frequently looked back upon that period of my life with sadness, but without a shadow of remorse. When I reached Italy we Republicans were an imperceptible minority. The people were not—in Italy they never will be—monarchical, but they were what is now termed *Opportunists*: they saw before them an organised force; an army of Italians ready to combat the abhorred foreigner: men whom they had been accustomed to regard as apostles of liberty assured them that army was their sole salvation; it was headed by a king, and they consequently hailed as liberators both army and king.

At the moment of the popular triumph, at the end of the fifth day of the Milanese insurrection, when the people, intoxicated with victory, stood alone in the field, the word *Republic* might have been spoken; but to speak it in April could have served no useful purpose, and would have given rise to the worst of all wars, a civil war. Moreover, to what purpose do we constantly speak of the sovereignty of the people, and our reverence for the national will, if we are to disregard it so soon as it pronounce in contradiction to our wishes? Was it not our especial duty, as Republicans, without neglecting our mission of modifying opinion through

an apostolate of ideas, to educate men to abstain from all violation of it by force? We had had a right to take the initiative when the Italian people were universally enslaved; we alone were then able, and therefore bound, to lead the way; but when once the people were risen and free, we had no other rights than those of counsel, vote, or action, according to their mandate.

As to the plan of isolating one's-self from the movement, in order to be free to declare the whole truth, I regarded it as a temptation of the *Ego*, unconsciously attaching more importance to its own dignity and the effect to be produced upon posterity, than to the *aim* to be reached—the welfare of the Fatherland, distempered and deceived indeed, but none the less dear and sacred, both in the past and future. Rousseau might have been justified in living a solitary life and declaring without reticence *all* that he believed to be truth, because he neither sought to bring about nor foresaw the imminence of a revolution in the practical sphere; but in my belief the revolution was already begun. Moreover he was solely a man of thought, not of thought and action. Now I believed that if we Republicans had a special mission, it was precisely that of reducing thought to action, so far as circumstances allowed; of never separating our destiny from that of our native land; of sharing every pulsation of our country's life, of endeavouring at

least to diminish her sufferings, when we could not put an end to them; of achieving for her one degree of progress in education, one fraction of our ideal, when the realisation of the complete ideal had become—through no fault of ours—impossible.

Practically I foresaw the ruin of the royal war; but one hope still cheered my saddened spirit, and that hope was named *Venice*. The Republican flag still waved over Venice, and I believed that when imbecility and treason should have done their work in Lombardy, the eyes of all men—cleared from deceitful visions—would be fixed upon that banner.

Venice then would become a new centre of resistance, a new leader of the people's war. This idea—about which I was silent—was the cause of my sending the Antonini legion to Venice; for this I counselled Garibaldi, when he arrived from Monte Video, to hasten thither, and place himself and his brave band under the orders of the Venetian Government; as it was for this that, at a later period, I endeavoured to concentrate Michiewicz's Polish legion there. When treason and imbecility had fulfilled their work in Milan, however, all possibility of an appeal to Lombardy was destroyed.

I determined then, and my friends determined with me, to accept the *faits accomplis* as a point of departure from which to go forward. We bowed our heads to the popular will, which had pronounced

in favour of *monarchy*, and we devoted ourselves to endeavouring, as far as in us lay, to secure the triumph of the war, which, although fought beneath a banner not our own, might yet, by driving the Austrians beyond the Alps, leave us at liberty to achieve the *unity* of our country. But although we resigned ourselves to silence, we in no way renounced our faith in our own ideal. We offered ourselves as loyal allies to the royal camp; we never declared that camp our own. We ceased from preaching our own principles as inopportune and likely to endanger the success of the enterprise against the foreigner; but we never preached in favour of the opposite principle. I say this, remembering how many of those who were sworn Republicans yesterday are Monarchists to-day; and this not because they have really altered their convictions, but simply through what they call *tactics*, but what is in fact the absence of all belief. However much they seek to do so, they will never be able to defend themselves by an appeal to our example. We maintained ourselves pure and unstained by falsehood or servile homage; they did not. Forgetting that the first and highest duty towards a people newly arising as a nation is that of educating them to moral dignity and constancy of soul, they, in the hope of obtaining some financial or administrative reforms from the opposite party, cast both the present and future of their

country at the feet of the monarchy—accepting *unconditionally* the institution they preached against but a few years before ; declare that the logical result of a constitution, the first article of which is a violation of the liberty of conscience, will be the greatest possible development of liberty ;—theorize about the absurd *equilibrium of the three powers* ;—feign anger (laughing in their sleeve all the while) if the sacred and inviolable name of the king is drawn into the arena by any incautious minister, and declare that the whole Italian question resolves itself into a change not of principles, but of men.

And our adversaries, meanwhile, sneer at their protests, pointing to their past with the rancour that pardons not ; while the people, viewing their Macchiavellian gyrations, learn a lesson of immorality, or of equally fatal distrust.

Those who come after us will call these men apostates ; I grieve over them as over weak men tainted by the disease of our age of scepticism, destitute of every great ideal.

The few who in 1848 remained faithful to the Republican flag, showed that they knew how to respect the will of the people, supreme even when erring, and yet preserve themselves pure and uncontaminate. And if I insist upon this fact, it is because while some accuse us of having in those days deviated from our convictions, the majority—still deluded by the calumnies spread against us at

that time—imagine even yet that it was our rash and intemperate republicanism that sowed the seeds of anarchy and ruined the enterprise against the foreigner. Whence those seeds of anarchy really sprang has been clearly shown in the sketch I have already traced of the state of things, in the memoir on the insurrection of Milan by Carlo Cattaneo, to which I have referred, and in the *Archivio Triennale*. To me it appears important, in this work, which is intended as a summary of our Italian republican history during the last thirty years, to prove that our language has been invariably consistent with the programme we adopted, and to show the Italians that if our party has erred, it has at least never deceived.

That programme—national unity before all things—a general war against the foreigner—sovereignty of the country's will, to be ascertained at the conclusion of the war—I had already published in February, before the outbreak of the Lombard insurrection, in the letter to the Sicilians I now reproduce.

[The letter to Sicilians, after declaring to their honour that they had by their revolution done more for Italy in two days than the whole Liberal party had done in two years of agitation—warned them that it was their first duty in their triumph to turn a deaf ear to those who counselled a Sicilian

autonomy, and to remain united with their Italian countrymen. Every fraction of Italy united to another fraction was a triumph of the whole Italian nation ; every dismemberment, however apparently justified by temporary advantage, was in fact a retrogression. The true question did not lie between Sicily and Naples, but between Sicily and the Italy of the future ; between inculcating a high moral lesson of unity or one of local egotism.]

Shortly after writing the letter to the Sicilians, during my brief stay in Paris I founded the *Italian National Association*, in the programme of which, on the 5th of March, I said :

“ This association is neither Tuscan, Piedmontese, nor Neapolitan ; it is Italian ; its purpose is not to discuss any questions of local interest, but to harmonize and unite them all in the great National Idea ; it does not aim at predetermining the triumph of this or that form of government, but consecrates its every effort and the means of which it is possessed, in accordance with the aspirations of the Italian people, to the development of the sentiment of Nationality. It will endeavour, by counsel, activity, the careful investigation of the will of the majority, and the exercise of the right of fraternal advice, to hasten the moment in which the whole people of Italy, united in one free and independent

nation, strong in the consciousness of its rights, and of its mission, and sanctified by the love that binds those who believe in a common duty, shall be in a position to record its solemn vote as to the form and method of civil government most suited to its social, political, and economic organisation."

On the 22d of March, in an address to the Republican Government of France, I thus defined the purpose of the Association :—

"The scope and aim of the Association is the aim foreseen and declared by all the greatest men of Italy, from Arnaldo of Brescia down to Macchiavelli; from Dante down to Napoleon; the political unification of the Peninsula; the emancipation of this land which has twice given the *mot d'ordre* of European unity; the formation of a strong and compact nationality, capable of taking its place in the Federation of the Peoples with advantage to the world; bringing with it, as its share of the common work, the inspiration and sacrifice, the thought and action of twenty-five millions of freemen, united in the brotherhood of one sole national faith,—God and the People,—and one sole international faith—God and Humanity.

This faith, gentlemen, whatever efforts have been made to deny or conceal it, was the faith of our forefathers. From the Pythagorean school of southern Italy down to our philosophical thinkers

of the seventeenth century—from the tortures by which they vainly endeavoured to extinguish the social teachings of Campanella, down to the bullets that cut short the last cry of *Viva l' Italia* on the lips of the Bandiera—Italian genius has ever proclaimed, through an uninterrupted series of individual protests, that the historical tradition of Italy is unity and liberty ;—unity as the pledge of her mission, liberty as the pledge of her progress. . . .

With these ideas and this programme I went to Milan ; and the first public words I uttered in Italy, in an address to the Brescians on the subject of some temporary misunderstanding with Milan, were words of peace and concord. Nor was the programme ever betrayed by me or my friends. We maintained it faithfully, amid distrust, calumny and threats, during the whole period of the royal war. It may be that if the whole of our party had as resolutely abided by the programme of *war and a National Constituent Assembly after the war*—a programme based upon the solemn promises of Charles Albert and the Provisional Government—the issue of the struggle against Austria would have been different. But, as I said before, the majority of our party gave themselves up to the monarchy without demanding either compact or guarantee, and it became the irresponsible master of the field.

On the day upon which I was to discuss with the Provisional Government the disastrous decree of the *fusion*, Cesare Correnti unexpectedly entered my room, followed by Anselmo Guerrieri, and spoke to me of the project in the tone of one who anticipated ruinous results from it. I said to them what I had already said to another member of the Government, Durini, who had vainly endeavoured to obtain my adhesion to the scheme. I told them that the king's sudden demand of the *fusion*, in open violation of all compacts made by the Government, was a sign that he felt the war going against him, and meditated a retreat, but was desirous of securing documentary evidence of title, to be produced at a fitting moment in the future; that, nevertheless, the acceptance of the proposal by the Government would be regarded by the Lombards as a proof of the contrary, and, by inspiring them with more complete faith in the king and in his defence of their territory, would lull them in increased security precisely when it was most urgent to rouse their energy and prepare them to save themselves by their own exertions. The betrayal of their solemn promises of neutrality by the Government would irritate those parties who had hitherto remained silent from patriotic motives. The designs of aggrandizement entertained by the monarchy of Savoy being thus proved to be no mere suspicion, but a positive fact, would furnish the other Princes

of Italy with the long desired pretext for withdrawing from a war which could bring no advantage to them, while Charles Albert himself, content with having acquired a right to the Lombard provinces, would resign himself more readily to defer the enjoyment of that right, and to yield the field to Austria. Lombardy, no longer an ally, but a subject, would lose the opportunity of preparing her own defence, while by succumbing she would lose her only remaining glory, very precious with regard to the education and future of Italy, that of having combated, to found—not a mere wretched kingdom of Northern Italy, but the National Unity.

These, and some other reasons which I gave, met the complete assent of both ; they declared themselves determined to oppose the fusion at all risks, and asked my advice as to the best means of doing so.

I suggested that they should come to an understanding with Pompeo Litta, and Anelli of Lodi—a man unique in that servile herd for incorruptible honesty and good faith—that should all argument be vain, they should put on record their own protest against the vote of the majority, retire from the Government, publish the fact of their withdrawing with an explanation of its cause, and leave the rest to us. We would have issued a public manifesto which would have compelled the Govern-

ment to retire, but instead of substituting our own for the monarchical element, we would, in order to avoid all danger of an open break with the King, have proclaimed a new Provisional Government, composed of the four members opposed to the Fusion, completing the number by a selection of new men—not Republicans—but awake to the increasing danger, and resolved to avert it.

They both accepted the proposal, and gave me their word they would act upon it, Correnti, however, far more energetically than the other, indeed he was on the point of swearing upon the hilt of a dagger he wore, so excited and melodramatic did he become.

The next day the first names that struck my eye affixed to the decree of Fusion were those of Correnti and Guerrieri. I learned afterwards that the second, a well-meaning but weak man, had allowed himself to be over-persuaded by Correnti, and that he was a prey to remorse for many days afterwards.

Some time after the fall of Milan, I saw Correnti again. I was in the garden of the Villa Ciani at Lugano, in company with Carlo Cattaneo and others, when Pezzotti—one of the best men of the Republican party, who afterwards died by his own hand in an Austrian prison—came to me and told me that Correnti was there, very anxious to see me. I remember even now the penitent face, the

supplicating voice, and the downcast eyes with which he said to me : *do not remind me of the past ; but make of me anything you will ; officer, sentinel, porter—anything, so long as I can but serve my country.*

I reported his words to my friends ; they all distrusted him. I thought, however, that although he had behaved ill, still the fate of Milan must have radically cured and converted all but the utterly corrupt, and I decided to send him to Venice, where the Italian flag which the king had betrayed, was still held on high by the people. Garibaldi was still in arms between Como and Varese ; thousands of exiles were crowding into the Canton Ticino, in readiness to seize the first opportunity, should any arise, of crossing the frontier. Great fermentation existed in the valleys of Bergamo and Brescia. It was very important to give this agitation a visible centre, a banner, and a semi-legal direction, and Venice I thought might be made such.

Manin was the soul of the defence of Venice, and I determined to despatch Correnti to him, to inform him of our numbers and our hopes, to persuade him to take the direction of the movement in his own hands, and to point out the path of duty to Lombardy, by publicly declaring—*Venice, unstained by treason, is fighting not for herself alone, but for all Italy ; rally round her Republican banner.*

The penitent accepted the mission with delight. He was furnished with letters and money by us, and

started in company with Ercole Porro, one of the most trustworthy of our party. I know not what he said to Manin. I know that Manin did not do his duty in the matter; that Correnti never showed sign of life amongst us again, and that shortly afterwards we heard of him in Turin as one of the supporters of the absurd, inept, aristocratic assemblage styling itself the *Consulta*, in whose ranks figured Casati and all those who had assisted him in ruining his country.

I have selected the incident of this betrayal, among numberless others, simply as an indication of the history I might relate of the *Moderates* of that day, as a warning to my countrymen to put no trust in these sudden fits of repentance while victory still hangs in the balance, and as an example to the youth of Italy of the base and unworthy conduct to which men, even the most enlightened and naturally well-disposed, may be led by scepticism and materialism.

We exerted every effort to rekindle the popular war, and did in fact rekindle it in the Val d'Intelvi; but the unexpected dissensions that arose between the two military leaders, D'Apice and Arcioni—the strength of the prejudice in favour of the monarchy which deprived us of the important lever of a movement in the capital, and when that had fallen, the discouragement produced in the Provincial cities, made all our efforts vain. All that was gained

by that magnificent popular movement was a terrible lesson, which I hoped would have been understood at the time, but it was not so. The many thousand exiles, of all ranks and of every shade of opinion, who then swore never again to commit their country's well-being to the hands of a prince, even they who so frantically applauded Gustavo Modena's recitation of the last verses* of the *Clarina* of Berchet, were again servilely devoted to the monarchy only a few years later.

As soon as I saw that all was hopelessly at an end in Lombardy, I left Switzerland and went by way of France to Tuscany.

In the meantime the Pope had fled. Rome was free to govern herself; it appeared as if Venice would be able to hold out a long time yet; the Revolution was triumphant in Tuscany, and was

Esecrato, o Carignano
Va il tuo nome in ogni gente
Non v'è clima sì lontano
Ove il tedio, lo squallor,
La bestemmia d'un fuggente
Non ti annunzi traditor.

E qui in riva della Dora
Questa vergine infelice,
Questo lutto che le sfiora
Gli anni, il senno è la beltà
Sull' esosa tua cervice
Grida sangue, e sangue avrà !

Thy name, Carignano,
Is execrated by all the peoples ;
There is no clime, however distant,
Where the weariness, the misery,
And the causes of a fugitive
Will not proclaim thee traitor.

And here upon the shores of Dora
This unhappy maiden,
This anguish which deflowers
Her youth, her reason, and her
beauty,
Calls down blood upon thy hate-
ful head,
And shall have blood !

directed by men sharing our belief. The surrender of Milan had cast discredit upon the monarchy, and produced an irritation which disposed men towards the opposite principle; the word of initiation might issue from Rome. It may be that had that word been spoken then, before the universal fermentation had subsided, and before Naples had again resigned herself to slavery, it would have led to greater results than those which followed from it some months later. It was with this conviction, as I was now free to preach my own belief, that I addressed the following letter to my Roman friends :—*

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“I listen earnestly in the hope of hearing from your city some free and manly utterance worthy of Rome; some sound as of a people re-awakening to their former greatness, and I do but hear the usual emasculate voices of parliamentary arcadians, who, standing round the cradle of a nation, recite to us such funeral dirges as might be fitter for the Constitutional Monarchies that are passing away. Yet, had you but the *will*, it might be yours to create a new moral world. You hold in your hands the destiny of Italy, and the destiny of Italy is the destiny of the world. Forgetful men! you know not the potency of those four letters conjoined that form the name of your city.

* This letter appeared in the *Pallade*, a Roman journal.

You know not that that which elsewhere is but a word, becomes, if uttered by Rome, a *fact*, an imperial decree, *urbi et orbi*. Good God! can the men at the head of your affairs derive no inspiration from your history, your monuments! Worshipping Rome as I do, I have consoled myself for the spectacle of impotence and insignificance shown us by the other Italian cities, by telling myself that the mission belonged to her, that the Word could only issue from the Eternal City; but I almost begin to fear I have been mistaken. Such a Rome as yours at present, with such a parliament as that I read of, is—forgive me—a sight half sorrowful, half ridiculous.

“I do not think that Providence has ever so plainly declared to a nation: *You shall have no god but God; no interpreter of His law, but the people*; and I do not think the world ever saw a nation so obstinately determined neither to hear nor see as our own. Providence has given us for princes a race of fools and traitors, and we persist in striving to regenerate our country through them. Providence—as if to compel us to a war of the people—has caused a king to be defeated in an enterprise that was already three parts won; and we persist in only making war under that king. Providence has made of the Neapolitan Bourbon a living commentary upon the warnings of Samuel to the Israelites when they asked for a king; and

Sicily, freed from his yoke, knocks at the gate of every regal palace in turn in search of another. Providence has made a voluntary fugitive of your Pope, has removed every obstacle from your path, even as a mother for her child, and you remain as hesitating and uncertain as if you had no heart, no mind, no history, no experience, no future, no Italy in ferment around you, no Republican France and Italy by your side—and go to work to govern yourselves with the Papal autograph!

“Charles XII. sent his boot to govern the state; but Charles XII. was no fugitive: and the metropolis of Sweden was not Rome.

“You know that the anxiety in which I live is for the unity of Italy, which is endangered by these meddlers, and not for the *Republic*, which is infallible and inevitable, not only in Italy, but in nearly the whole of Europe; and for that I await, as I have said, written, and published, with submission and devotion until the will of Italy be solemnly manifested and expressed. But I feel that I may now say to you, without playing the part of an agitator, since a republican form of government is thus put into your hands without any effort on your part, or any violence or usurpation on the part of a minority, do not let it appear to Italy and Europe that you, who are republicans born, reject it without any reason. You have no longer any Government, nor (in spite

of the autograph) any existing legitimate power. Pius IX. has fled: his flight is an abdication, and as he is an *elected* prince, he leaves no dynasty behind him. You are then, *de facto*, a Republic, since you have no source of authority left but the people. Logical and energetic men would thank Heaven for having inspired Pius IX. to this course, and simply declare: *The Pope having abandoned his post, we appeal from the Pope to God, and convocate a Council. The prince has betrayed and deserted; we appeal from the prince to the people. Rome is now, by the will of Providence, a Republic. An Italian Constituent, so soon as it can be assembled within these walls, will either confirm, transform, or amplify, this fact.*

“Then when the people should have decided upon the form of government, an initiatory and precursory nucleus of the future Italian constituent, since not all of Italy is free, would assemble in Rome; a nucleus composed of known men, sent as delegates by Tuscany, Venice, the Lombard Emigration, and the various political clubs and associations, to support the Government; which, by the aid of a few truly national measures and decrees, would soon become the moral government of all Italy. God, who helps those who help themselves and loves Rome, would do the rest.

“Why you did not do this ‘within the first

twenty-four hours, why you do not do so, now is to me a mystery! I know that you cannot go on as you are, and that between doing this and sending delegates to Pius IX. to say; *return omnipotent; we will cancel every trace of the 16th*; there is no middle course.

"Some have written me word that you are only withheld by the fear of invasion. Invasion! Will you not be invaded in any case? Do not you see that the real question lies between leaving the initiative and the choice of the moment to the enemy, and assuming it yourselves? Do you not see that in the one case, you will succumb, despised and derided, because no one will move to the assistance of your nameless and timorous ministry, while in the other you will be the initiators of that to which all things in Italy are in fact tending, and to which you will be inevitably compelled one day, with the disadvantage that you will then have traitors in the camp?

"Nor would you be alone in the field."

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I arrived in Leghorn on the 8th of February 1849, precisely at the time when the governor, Pigli, received intelligence of the flight of the Grand Duke, and I was requested to announce the fact to the people who had assembled to give me wel-

come,* because it was feared they might be moved to some act of violence against the most notorious adherents of the fugitive Prince. The fear was unfounded. The Livornese are a nobly-disposed people, very tenacious of liberty, and always ready to struggle manfully in its defence; but, for that very reason, they are easily guided upon the right

* The following account of Mazzini's arrival at Leghorn appeared in the Italian papers of that date:—

RECEPTION OF MAZZINI AT LEGHORN.

Feb. 8.—At dawn this morning the Hellespont brought amongst us Joseph Mazzini, the man hated by all the Governments of Italy, because he has ever remained pure and uncontaminated, and has never bent before the Liberals of mere profession or opportunity. The church bells rang the announcement of his arrival, and the people hastened out upon the road through which he would have to pass; a hundred banners waved—the windows were all ornamented with tapestry—a guard of honour, composed of the Riflemen and National Guards, with their officers, and the Minister Guerazzi, ranged themselves in front of the house of Citizen Notari, where Mazzini was expected.

At noon all the Clubs of Leghorn, with flags and banners bearing the inscriptions, “God and the People,” “Viva Mazzini and La Cecilia, our Deputies to the Constituent Assembly,” thronged into the great square; there they were joined by the Staff of the National Guard, several companies of the Militia, and the Civic Artillery, together with an immense multitude of every age and class. The numerous and brilliant cortège, took the direction of the Via Boira, a road which awakens gloomy recollections of the Pioconsul who fired upon the people; how then did all good men rejoice to see it trod by Mazzini and the glad multitude!

The Staff of the National Guard and the Presidents of all the Clubs hastened to greet the illustrious Italian, who afterwards descended among the people, and, preceded by the Civic Band and the artillery, accompanied them to the house of the Governor.

path if led by one whom they trust and who has trust in them. I announced the flight of the Duke as a piece of good news, and pointed out how important it was that they should prove they could live in increased peace, concord, and affection without him. Some few proposed to overthrow the

After some conversation with the worthy Pigli he appeared with him upon the terrace. He was saluted with the most tremendous applause, and he addressed the people in a long discourse, from which I make an extract from memory:—"In 1830," said he, "I came to Leghorn an exile, and then became the friend of those men whom you have now raised to power. Here, also, I knew Carlo Bini, an honourable and illustrious Italian, whom I remember with sadness, as he is no more. I have ever remembered Leghorn, and gladly greet her again to-day as the most patriotic city of Italy. Let the honours and applause with which you have greeted me be directed to the principle I represent, not to the man."

I ought also to mention that the Grand Duke and all his family have fled, and yet no sounds are heard but of gladness; the people cried, "A pleasant journey," and "One obstacle the less for Italian independence." When the people shouted "Viva la Repubblica," "We will not now proclaim a republic," Mazzini said to them. "I who have been all my life a republican, exhort you to await the initiative given in Rome. In Rome the nation—by means of representatives freely chosen by the people, in Universal Suffrage—will make known its will, and we must all bow before that sovereign-power." To others, who proposed constituting a Provisional Government in Leghorn, he recommended that they should wait and see what was done in Florence, and rally round that Ministry unique in Europe, as being really in harmony with the people. He concluded by exhorting them to preserve union and concord, and to prepare themselves for war, whether to defend their country against invasion, or to initiate the war in Lombardy. In the midst of continued "Evivas," after having taken leave of the Governor, he departed by a special train, in company with General D'Apice.—*Courier of Leghorn, Feb. 9—(Translator).*

statue of the Prince, but were easily contented with the suggestion that it should be covered. Leghorn is a republican city, and will be one of the earliest to do honour to our future Italy.

On the 19th of February the Republic* was proclaimed in Rome. Here at length was the initiative I sought, and I did my utmost in Florence to induce Tuscany to link her fate with that of Rome. The example would have borne fruit in Sicily and elsewhere. Tuscany, menaced by Austria, and insidiously undermined by Piedmont, whose prime minister, Gioberti, was endeavouring to reinstate

* "The Roman Republic was proclaimed on the 9th of February 1849. This was an imperative necessity of the circumstances in which the Roman States were then placed. The Pope had fled to Gaeta two months and a half before, leaving the whole burden of the Government in the hands of the National Assembly. Two deputations had been sent to request him in the name of the Assembly, and in the name of the people, to return, and resume the reins of Government. Both deputations had been repulsed. The Pope had appointed a commission to govern in his name; the persons designated for the office had refused to act. Rome was absolutely without a Government. The Chambers appointed a Provisional Government and declared themselves dissolved. For two months the Provisional Government conducted the administration; after which, incapable of prolonging a situation so full of danger, and yielding to the earnest solicitations addressed to it from all parts of the states, it convoked the people in the primary assemblies, and appealed to the universal suffrage of the inhabitants of the states for the election of a Constituent Assembly. The appeal was responded to. By the votes of 343,000 adult male persons, out of a total population of 2,800,000 souls, a Constituent Assembly, consisting of 150 members, was invested with the task of Government. The Assembly met on the 6th of February 1849;

our Princes on every side,* could not stand alone ; but by sheltering herself under the wings of Rome, and thereby placing herself under the protection of the Italian right, she would have increased her own strength, and rendered possible a magnificent National movement. Even should she fall, she would at least have born a noble testimony in favour

and at one o'clock in the morning of the 9th, after an uninterrupted sitting of fifteen hours, that remarkable decree was passed which declared the abolition of the Secular Papacy, and proclaimed that portion of Italy which had hitherto been the patrimony of the Popes, a free and independent Republic. The Article abolishing the Secular Papacy was passed with only *five* dissenting voices, and that constituting the Republic, with only *eleven* dissenting voices out of one hundred and forty four members present.

On the 10th of February the Constituent Assembly appointed an Executive Committee of three citizens, through the medium of whom the Government might be carried on until such time as the Constitution of the Republic should be fully matured. The citizens appointed to this office by a majority of votes were Messieurs *Armellini*, *Saliceti*, and *Montecchi*. Ministers of the different departments of the public service were at the same time appointed.

For a period of seven weeks, or, from the 10th of February to the 30th of March, the government of the republic was carried on by the Executive Committee, in conjunction with the Constituent Assembly, and the ministers of the different departments.

From Tract No. II published by the Society of the Friends of Italy in 1851.—(Translator.)

* See his letter to Mazarelli, President of the Roman Ministry, in which he proposes to restore the Pope to political power under the protection of a Piedmontese garrison in Rome. Similar suggestions were attempted in Tuscany, and the Piedmontese Government revenged their rejection by an open hostility, provoking the desertion of the Tuscan troops on the frontier, and sending them to Alexandria, as well as by ordering La Marmora to occupy Pontremoli, Fivizzano, etc.

of Republican unity, which would have been of great service to the political education of the country. The people, with their usual instinct, comprehended the idea at once: in a public meeting of more than ten thousand persons, held beneath the *Loggia degli Uffizi*, I obtained their vote for the adoption of the Republican form of Government, union with Rome, and the formation of a Committee of Defence composed of Guerrazzi, Montanelli, and Zannetti. The men in power refused their adhesion to the popular vote, and I then started for Rome, where I had already been elected a deputy.

Rome was the dream of my young years; the generating idea of my mental conception; the keystone of my intellectual edifice, the religion of my soul; and I entered the city one evening, early in March, with a deep sense of awe, almost of worship. Rome was to me, as in spite of her present degradation, she still is, the temple of Humanity. From Rome will one day spring the religious transformation destined for the third time to bestow moral unity on Europe.

I had journeyed towards the sacred city with a heart sick unto death from the defeat of Lombardy, the new deceptions I had met with in Tuscany, and the dismemberment of our Republican party over the whole of Italy. Yet, nevertheless, as I passed through the *Porta del Popolo*, I felt an electric thrill run through me—a spring of new life. I shall never

see Rome more ; but the memory of her will mingle with my dying thought of God and my best beloved ; and wheresoever fate may lay my bones, I believe they will know once more the thrill that ran through me then, on the day when the republican banner shall be planted—in pledge of the unity of our Italy—upon the Vatican and Capitol.

The same reasons which determined me not to relate in detail the events of 1848, induce me to observe the same reticence with regard to the four months that elapsed between my arrival in Rome and the fall of the Republic. I could not now reveal all. I shall therefore limit myself to briefly sketching my own part in those events, and the moral conception by which my own conduct was governed. From a page so glorious as that inscribed by Rome, the individual should be effaced. Yet I too am a republican, and my life, though a small matter in itself, is a part of republican history. I believe, therefore, that now, when I must soon resign it, I ought not to allow it to be misunderstood through the falsehoods diffused by our enemies.

We have been accused of having, when for a brief while victorious, proclaimed the *Roman*, not the *Italian Republic*. An insurrection, which arises to assert the *illegality* of the institutions it seeks to overthrow, has a right to inscribe upon its banner any formula, no matter how daring, which its

authors conscientiously believe to be true ; an Assembly, legally and peacefully elected by a small fraction of the country, has no such right. The supreme authority for it is the mandate of those by whom it was chosen.

Moreover, it would have been absurd to proclaim Italy a republic under the circumstances by which we were surrounded, and in the face of Constitutional Piedmont in arms. We could only win Italy to the Republic, by emancipating her from the foreigner, *creating* her. And to do this, it was necessary first to create a power, a force. A very few days were sufficient to convince me, not only that no such force existed, but also that no one was thinking of organising any. Good instincts abounded ; what was wanting was a directing idea. The army consisted of about 16,000 men, but lacking all cohesion, all discipline, even uniformity of costume and pay. The staff was null : the *material* of war of the scantiest.

The forces that were organised were, for the most part, scattered along the Neapolitan frontier ; the only point whence the existing government feared offence ; a point, however, which it was utterly impossible to defend by the method they had adopted—that of a *cordon militaire*—radically weak and defective in any case.

I did not fear offence from Naples ; indeed, any attempt from that quarter, which would have given

us a right of retaliation, was rather to be desired than feared. Nor did I at that time foresee any attack from France, although I regarded it as inevitable from Austria, sooner or later.

Even should Austria not attack us, it was our duty to make ready to attack her. To arouse Italy against her eternal enemy, to initiate a new crusade and declare to the country by *acts—that which, Monarchy either could not or would not do, the Republic will*—such was my plan. To make ready to resist a danger that might be imminent, and at the same time be ready to *act* ourselves, in case that danger should not arise ; such was my meaning when I said to the Assembly : *we must act like men who have the enemy at their gates, and at the same time like men who are working for eternity.*

On the 16th of March I proposed to the Assembly to elect a *Committee of War*, composed of five members, whose duty it should be to study the best means of organising the army, and provide for the necessities of defence and offence. On the 18th the committee was elected. Pisacane was its life and soul : he and I understood each other completely.

For the inefficacious system of detachments spread along the extent of the long southern frontier, for purposes of defence, we substituted the concentration of our forces upon two points, Bologna and Terni ; and it was partly owing to

this anterior concentration that the prolonged defence of Rome was rendered possible.

We determined to raise the cypher of 16,000 men to 45,000, a number easily to be reached by the help of conscription in the Roman States, and the elements we were able to assemble from other parts of Italy.

Piedmont, meanwhile, partly from the fear of seeing the national initiative pass from the hands of monarchy into those of the republic, and partly from other causes, again declared war to Austria. The Roman Republic had not been recognised by Piedmont ; nevertheless, no sooner had the proclamation announcing the imminent renewal of hostilities appeared, than the Republic, unmindful in its enthusiasm of every other consideration, spontaneously decided to despatch 10,000 men under Lieutenant-Colonel Mezzacapo, to the help of Piedmont, without demanding any previous compact or guarantee. I say spontaneously, because Lorenzo Valerio, who was charged with a semi-official mission to come to an understanding with Rome, did not arrive until after the passing of the decree.

Four days, however, sufficed to bring that wretched war to an end. It was begun on the 20th and concluded on the 24th by the sin and shame of Novara.* Shortly afterwards the Piedmontese

* "As soon as the news of the battle of Novara reached Rome, the Assembly and the government took the steps which the gravity

monarchy allowed Rome to be assailed by foreign arms without uttering one word of protest in her favour.

On the 29th March I was chosen Triumvir ; my colleagues were Aurelio Saffi, and Armellini.

On the 27th of April we passed a decree confirming the arrangements already made as to the augmentation and organisation of the army. In the early part of that month we had already used every effort to bring to Rome the Lombard division, of about six to seven thousand men ; but the Piedmontese government, aided by General Fanti, succeeded in frustrating our design by deceit.*

of the situation demanded The Executive Committee was dissolved, and the supreme power was placed in the hands of a Triumvirate, consisting of *Armellini*, one of the dissolved committee ; the previous minister of the Interior, *Saffi* ; and the patriot, *Mazzini*, whose arrival in Rome about this time had been accepted by the Assembly and the people with shouts of exultation, as a special arrangement of Providence for the encouragement and invigoration of the cause. This change in the manner of rule took place on the 29th of March ; the Assembly, in decreeing it, did not abdicate the exercise of its own powers."

From Tract No. 11, published by the Society of the Friends of Italy in 1851.—(Translator.)

* The Lombard division had already shown signs of a disposition to betake themselves to Genoa to assist in the defence of that city, which had arisen in insurrection, refusing to recognise the peace concluded with Austria by Piedmont. We had in the meantime forwarded proposals, and sent means for their coming to Rome. The Piedmontese Government, alarmed, agreed to our proposals — only stipulating that the division should in no way interfere in the Genoese matter, but pass by way of Bobbio and Chiavari. Fanti however, by a secret understanding with the Government, conducted

The French arrived at Civita Vecchia on the 25th of April, so that we had not had so much as one month in which to organise our forces, arrange our finances, provide arms, and supply the deficiencies of our artillery.

With those who have said or written that the resistance of Rome to her French invaders was an error, it were useless to discuss.

To the many other causes which decided us to resist, there was in my mind added one intimately bound up with the aim of my whole life—the foundation of our national unity. Rome was the natural centre of that unity, and it was important to attract the eyes and the reverence of my countrymen towards her. The Italian people had almost lost their *Religion* of Rome; they too had begun to look upon her as a sepulchre, and such she seemed.

As the seat of a form of faith now extinct, and only outwardly sustained by hypocrisy and persecution; her middle class living in a great measure upon the pomps of worship, and the corruption of the higher clergy; and her people, although full of

the troops across difficult mountain passes, nearly impassable by the cavalry, and completely so by the artillery. Nevertheless, the division succeeded at last in reaching Chiavari, though much disorganised. The government, which had meanwhile bombarded and vanquished Genoa, and was relieved from its alarm, then forbade them to embark. The riflemen only, under Manara, contrived to reach us towards the end of April.

noble and manly pride, necessarily ignorant, and believed to be devoted to the Pope,—Rome was regarded by some with aversion, by others with disdainful indifference. A few individual exceptions apart—the Romans had never shared that ferment, that desire for liberty which had constantly agitated Romagna and the Marche. It was therefore essential to redeem Rome ; to place her once again at the summit, so that the Italians might again learn to regard her as the temple of their common country. It was necessary that all should learn how potent the immortality stirring beneath those ruins of two epochs, two worlds. I did feel that power, did feel the pulsations of the immense eternal life of Rome through the artificial crust with which priests and courtiers had covered the great sleeper as with a shroud. I had faith in her. I remember that when the question as to whether we should resist or not first arose, the chief officers of the National Guard, when I assembled and interrogated them, told me sadly that the main body of the guard would not in any case co-operate in the defence. It seemed to me that I understood the Roman people far better than they, and I therefore gave orders that all the battalions should defile in front of the Palace of the Assembly on the following morning, in order that the question might be put to the troops. The universal shout of *Guerra* that arose from the ranks

drowned in an instant the timid doubts of their leaders.

The defence of the city was therefore decided upon : by the assembly and people of Rome from a noble impulse and from reverence for the honour of Italy ; by me as the logical consequence of a long-matured design. Strategically I was aware that the struggle ought to have been carried on out of Rome, by operating upon the flank of the enemy's line. But victory, unless we were to receive assistance from the other provinces of Italy, was equally impossible within and without the walls ; and since we were therefore destined to fall, it was our duty, in view of the future, to proffer our *morituri te salutant* to Italy from Rome

Nevertheless, though foreseeing defeat as certain, we could not, without betraying our trust, neglect the only possible chance of salvation, which was a change in the political state of things in France. The invasion of Rome was an idea of Louis Napoleon's ; already meditating the enthronement of tyranny at home, he was desirous, on the one hand, of accustoming the soldiery to fight against the Republican flag, and on the other, of gaining over the Catholic clergy and that portion of the French population which derived its inspiration from them. The French Assembly, uncertain and divided amongst themselves as they were, were nevertheless adverse to any proposition avowedly

hostile to us ; they approved the expedition because they were deceived both as to its secret aim and as to our internal condition. The accomplices of Louis Napoleon declared that an Austro-Neapolitan invasion of Rome was imminent, and asserted also that the population was adverse to the Republic, and only held in terror by an audacious minority ; that Rome was consequently unable to resist an invasion, and must in a few days fall a prey to Austria should France fail to intervene. It became, therefore, our duty to prove to the French people that no such reign of terror existed in Rome, that the people were unanimous, that it was quite possible to resist both Austrian and Neapolitan invasion—and thus compel Louis Napoleon to unmask his true design ; to fight the French *army*, but at the same time carefully to distinguish in our documentary acts, between the nation and the president of France—to be so far at least victorious as to prove to the French people our unanimity and determination, but avoid abusing our victory so as to irritate the exacting pride and impetuous passions of the French people. By these means we should give our friends of the mountain and in the body of the assembly an opportunity of initiating their own resistance against Louis Napoleon. Such was our duty ; nor did we betray it. It was for this that we sent orders to Civita Vecchia (orders which were disobeyed through the weakness of those

in command, who were deceived by the lying promises of General Oudinot), to resist at any cost; even if only long enough to prove the unanimity of the population. For this also our energetic proclamations to the envoys from the French camp—our eager preparations for battle, and the requests made to the various municipalities (and immediately accepted by all) that they would renew their acts of adhesion to the Republican Government;—for this the sending back of the French prisoners taken on the 30th of April, and the orders sent to Garibaldi to cease his pursuit of the flying French troops, and, generally, the attitude we assumed and maintained during the whole siege, and which I afterwards summed up by the declaration that Rome was not *at war* with France, but simply in a state of *defence*. The orders sent to Garibaldi were regarded as an error by those who saw no farther than the isolated fact, but what—in comparison with the maintenance of our conception and plan—should we have gained by the death or imprisonment of a few hundred more French prisoners?

That plan—and this should always be taken into account—that plan would, had not Louis Napoleon violated every tradition of loyalty by giving his envoy Lesseps unlimited powers to treat peacefully, and privately annulling his action by secret orders sent at the same time to Oudinot, have been successful. On the 7th of May the French

Assembly, moved by our conduct and language, solemnly desired the Executive immediately to take measures to ensure that the Roman expedition should not be diverted from its true aim, and empowered Lesseps to come to an arrangement with us. Towards the end of May a convention was signed between the French envoy and ourselves, declaring : *The support of France is secured to the Roman States : they will regard the French army as an army of friends which has hastened to assist them in the defence of their territory. The French army, acting in concert with the Roman Government, and without in any way interfering in the administration of the country, will take up such quarters without the walls as shall be best adapted to secure alike the defence of the city and the health of the troops.*

The war was by this convention transformed into an alliance, and the French army into a reserve force, to defend us in case of invasion. Rome itself, was, as I have said, to remain inviolable, alike to friends and foes ; and republican diplomacy achieved a success as splendid as that obtained by the republican army on the 30th of April. We were thus left free to issue forth and attack Austria, whom we should have defeated.

It is known to all how Oudinot refused to recognise the treaty signed by the French Plenipotentiary, and suddenly broke the truce. Napoleon had

sent him secret instructions contrary to those he had given to Lesseps.

On the 13th of June our friends in the French Assembly, headed by Ledru Rollin, attempted to rouse Paris to protest against the infamy committed, but in vain. The attempt was an appeal to insurrection, but without the necessary preparations to initiate it.

Some have reproached me for continuing the defence after the disastrous news of the failure of the attempt of the 13th of June. I should have considered myself false to the mandate confided to me by the people, false to the honour of my country, to the Republican flag, and to my own conscience, had I acted otherwise. Were we to tear up the glorious page of history just inscribed by Rome, and proclaim to Europe that when we determined upon war, it was not because we believed ourselves to be fulfilling a duty, but simply because we had trusted in a French insurrection ? We were bound by duty to resist to the last extremity. When the question was to be discussed in the assembly as to whether the French army, then marching on Rome, should be admitted or resisted, I refrained from attending the sitting, in order not to affect by my influence a decision which I felt ought to be collective and spontaneous. The Triumvirate was represented by Saffi and Armellini, both of whom were hesitating and undecided. But when a people,

and that people a Republic, has once flung down the gauntlet in the name of right, the struggle cannot end until they are either victorious or utterly overthrown. Monarchies may capitulate, but Republics die: the first represent dynastic interests only, and may save themselves by concessions, or, if need be, cowardice. But Republics represent a faith, and are bound to bear witness unto martyrdom. For this reason we had already caused Rome to bristle with barricades, intending that the battle from the walls should be followed up by a struggle in the streets; a struggle which in Rome would have been terrible indeed. That struggle was, however, rendered impossible by the French, whose plan it evidently was to content themselves with dominating the city by occupying the surrounding heights, and thus to compel it to yield through stress of famine.

The idea of prolonging the struggle, so long as a man and gun remained, was to my mind so elementary, that I proposed, so soon as matters should become desperate in Rome itself, that we Triumvirs, accompanied by the ministers, the assembly, (or if not all of it a numerous delegation) and such of the population as might choose to follow us, should issue forth from the city in company with our little army; by which means its movements would be given a legal authority and prestige in the eyes of the populations. My plan

then was, that rapidly leaving Rome behind us, we should provision ourselves in the Aretino, fling ourselves on the Austrian line of operations between Bologna and Ancona, and endeavour by a first victory to raise the Romagna. The French would then occupy Rome, but without having conquered the Republic ; nor could they have pursued us and fought us upon the new ground thus chosen, without completely unmasking the whole infamy of their invasion before the eyes of France and of Europe. It was the same plan which Garibaldi attempted to execute later on, but with only a few thousand followers, collected at random from the different troops, without the prestige and authority of the Government, without artillery, and in conditions which rendered success impossible.

On the 30th of June, the French being then masters of the bastions and of all the heights, I summoned a council of the military leaders. Garibaldi sent word that he could not leave the walls for a single instant, and we therefore went to him. I stated that the decisive moment for Rome having arrived, and it being necessary to determine what course to adopt, the Government was desirous of hearing the opinions of the military leaders before communicating with the Assembly. I pointed out to them the three courses open to us ; we might capitulate ; we might resist till the city were in ruins ; or we might leave Rome and transport the seat of war elsewhere. The first, I said,

was unworthy of the Republic ; the second useless ; because the positions taken up by the French proved that they were determined to avoid a barricade or hand-to-hand fight with the people, and to await upon the surrounding heights, tormenting the city with bombs and artillery until it were reduced by famine ; the third course was the one which I, as an individual, proposed.

Opinions were various : Avezzana and the Roman leaders were for remaining in the city and persisting in the defence ; Roselli, Pisacane, Garibaldi, and some others, agreed to my proposal ; not a single man—I record it to the honour of our little Republican army—signed his name upon the column headed *capitulation*.

I then dissolved the meeting and hastened to the Assembly.

To the Assembly, formed into a secret committee, the public being excluded, I repeated what I had previously said to the Council of War, and proposed, for their adoption, the only course I believed to be worthy of Rome. The Assembly refused to adopt that course. I shall not narrate the particulars of that, to me, most painful sitting. I found my best personal friends among the opponents of the plan. Some of the members of the Assembly afterwards blamed me (and I think justly) for not having previously prepared their minds for the decision ; but the singular calmness

and truly Roman energy they had shown until that moment, had induced me to believe that they would hail the proposition with applause.

The course finally adopted by the Assembly was proposed by Enrico Cernuschi. They decreed that the defence of Rome should be discontinued.

I left the Assembly before the vote was passed. The Assembly forwarded the decree to the Triumvirate, desiring them to communicate it to the French general, and to treat with him, in order that proper provision might be made for the maintenance of order and personal security in the conquered city.

This I refused to do: I wrote to the Assembly saying that I had been elected a Triumvir to defend, and not to destroy the Republic; and I accompanied these words by my resignation. My two colleagues resigned with me.

On the third of July I placed the following protest in the hands of the secretaries of the Assembly:—

“Citizens—By your decree of the 30th of June and 2d of July, you, who were commissioned by the people to watch over and defend the Republic to the last extremity, have involuntarily confirmed its destruction, and I feel the necessity of declaring this to you with deep and heartfelt sorrow, both in order to clear my own conscience from all stain, and to afford documentary evidence to our contem-

poraries, that when you passed that decree, not all of us despaired of the salvation of our country or of our banner.

“You had received a double mandate from God and the People, binding you to resist, so long as resistance was possible, the oppression of the foreigner, and to keep holy the principle of which the Assembly was the visible incarnation, by proving to the world that there can be no compact or compromise between the just and the unjust; between eternal right and brute force; and that although monarchies founded upon the egotism of interest may yield or capitulate, republics, founded upon faith and duty, neither yield nor capitulate, but die protesting.

“You had still strength left in the noble troops who were bravely fighting even while you were signing the act of capitulation, in the people eager for battle, in the barricades erected by the citizens, in the influence your body exercises over the provinces. Neither the troops nor the people desired that you should cease the defence; the city was bristling with the barricades you had ordered to be erected, as if, as a solemn pledge that when all regular warfare was at an end, Rome should still be defended by her people. Yet you declared the defence *impossible*, and you in fact rendered it such by the utterance of the baleful word.

“You declared that *the Assembly remained at its post*. The post of the Assembly was the last inch

of Italian soil whereupon they could for one more day hold aloft the flag of the Republic, and you, by narrowing the execution of your mandate within the walls of the Capitol, have buried the spirit of that mandate beneath the dead letter.

"You knew by the teachings of history and of logic, that no assembly can remain free for a single instant with foreign bayonets at its door, and that the Republic must fall on the day when the first French soldier sets foot in Rome. By decreeing, therefore, that the Republican Assembly should remain in Rome, you decreed alike the inevitable death of the Assembly and the Republic, and by decreeing that the Republican army should leave Rome without you, without the Roman Government, without the legal representatives of the Republic, you unknowingly decreed the first manifestation of discord and disunion among those who had been so strongly united, and decreed the dissolution (which God avert!) of that nucleus around which were centred the dearest hopes of Italy.

"You ought to have decreed that all contact save war was impossible between those whose mission it was to represent the Republic, and those who came to destroy it; you ought to have remembered that Rome is not only a city, but Italy; the symbol of the Italian idea; that her greatness lay in that while all had despaired and succumbed, she had declared: *I despair not; I arise.*

“You ought to have remembered that the true Rome was not confined within the walls of the city, but existed wheresoever Roman hearts, sanctified by the Italian idea, should assemble to suffer and to combat for the honour of Italy. You ought to have remembered that you were encircled on every side by Italian soil, and,—surrounding the Government, the Assembly, and every element representing the Republican idea, by the army and the noblest sons of the people,—to have issued forth, carrying from province to province, so long as a single one remained open to you, the Palladium of the faith and mission of Rome.

“You had before you both the records of your own past and the modern records of Hungary to encourage and to bid you hope that such action would have borne its fruit. But had there been no such examples to sustain you,—you, who had assumed to be the apostles of the third life of Italy, should have been the first to afford this proof of new and indomitable constancy to Europe.

“These things were proposed to you. You rejected them, and I, as a representative of the people, solemnly protest before you, before the people and before God, against your rejection of them and its consequences.

“Rome is destined by providence to achieve great things for the redemption of Italy and of the world. The defence of Rome is the initiation of

these things, the first line of a gigantic poem, which will be concluded come what may. History will record that initiative, and the part which you—good and noble in intention—have borne therein. But it will record also—I write it in the anguish of freshly wounded affection—that in the supreme and decisive moment, when you should have arisen superior to fate, you were faithless to your mission, and unknowingly betrayed the great Italian Idea represented by Rome.

“May the future see us united to redeem this fault!”—*July 3d 1849.*

After the French had entered, and with them the whole body of adverse priesthood which had formed a centre of conspiracy at Gaeta, I remained for a week publicly in Rome. The lies promulgated by the French and Catholic press as to the *terror* I had exercised in Rome during the siege, made me desirous of proving the falsity of the accusation by thus offering myself as an easy victim to any who might believe they had an injury to avenge, or feel desirous of being rewarded by the dominating sect. Moreover, I had not the heart to leave Rome.

With a sense within my soul like his who beholds the funeral of his best-beloved, I witnessed the departure of the members of the Assembly, the ministers and Government into exile; I saw the hospitals invaded where our wounded lay, suffering far more from the fate of the city than their own; I

saw the fresh graves of our bravest trampled and profaned by the foot of the foreign conqueror.

I was wandering about the city with Scipione Pistrucci and Gustavo Modena—both now dead—at the very time when the French entered with fixed bayonets, the population looking gloomy and irritated, and I saw them order the streets to be cleared, inwardly thrilling with rage and revolving thoughts of a last struggle of resistance.

It appeared to me that the army of occupation had been quartered in a manner so incautious as to afford an opportunity for a series of surprises; and I hastened to inquire of General Roselli and his staff, whether, if a popular movement should take place headed by myself (I being bound by no compact of any sort), they would help us? They consented; but it was already too late: the Leaders of the people had all fled; and the attempt was useless. I then suggested to Roselli that he should ask Oudinot (under plea of the necessity of avoiding probable collisions) to dispose the little Roman army in quarters outside the city. There, our soldiers would have recovered from the fatigue and exhaustion consequent upon their long struggle; we should have been able to re-equip them, and I would have remained near them in concealment, until—as I hoped might be possible—we could seize a favourable moment for throwing ourselves upon the enemy by surprise. But that plan also,

although at first accepted, proved abortive. Garibaldi's departure in arms awakened Oudinot's suspicions, and orders were given that the Roman artillery should remain in the city. Our soldiers, convinced that the enemy were capable of any iniquity, began in their turn to suspect a design of placing them, without the means of defence, between the Austrians and the French, in order to destroy them: the little army fell to pieces, and shortly after was disbanded.

These were but wild and ruinous plans, but in those days every faculty of my mind was absorbed in the one sole thought of rebellion, at any cost, against the brute force which had thus come down upon us unprovoked, to destroy one Republic in the name of another.

How it was that neither the priests nor the French took advantage of the opportunity I thus offered them of either killing or imprisoning me, is a mystery to me. I remember how poor Margaret Fuller, and my dear and venerated friend Giulia Modena, implored me to leave Rome, and—as they said—preserve myself for better days. But could I have foreseen the new deceptions, the ingratitude, and the abandonment of me by old friends that were in store for me, I should—could I have thought of myself alone—have said to them: *If you love me, let me die with Rome.*

At length, however, I departed. I left Rome without a passport and went to Civita Vecchia. When there, I sent to ask for one from the American Embassy. They sent me one, but as it had not the counter-signature of the French authorities required for leaving the port, it was useless. There was in the port a little steamer called the *Corriere Corso*, just about to weigh anchor. The captain, whose name was, I think, De Cristoferi, was a Corsican, and unknown to me. I ventured to ask him the question whether he would run the risk of taking me on board without papers, and received a reply in the affirmative.

I went on board. The steamer, bound for Marseilles, was to touch at Leghorn, then held by the Austrians. On board I saw the unwelcome spectacle of a deputation of Romans, selected from those adverse to the Republic, who were bound for the last-named port, whence they were again to embark for Gaëta ; their mission being to implore the return of the Pope. I did not look at them, but they recognised me, and the captain became alarmed lest, on reaching Leghorn, they should denounce me to the Austrians. They, however, did not do so, and I reached Marseilles.

It is unnecessary to inform the reader how I contrived to enter without a passport, to traverse the enemy's country and to reach Geneva. I have only mentioned the few personal matters related

above, because the historians and journalists of the *Moderate* party—purposely false—related at that time, and would relate even now if it suited their purpose, stories of the *three* passports I had with me, of the English protection which I had contrived to secure beforehand, and generally of the *prudence* with which I had provided for my own safety.

However, neither the systematic calumnies of the *Moderates*, nor of any others, can cancel the sole fact of any real importance—the defence. The glorious initiative and prophetic page of history inscribed by Rome during that two months' war, will ever remain, to prove to men grown wiser than they are at present, all that may be achieved by a *Principle* and a nucleus of men firmly resolved to incarnate that principle in action. Rome is a city covering an immense area of ground; it was unprovisioned, and on the left bank of the Tiber almost entirely exposed to the assaults of the enemy. Our artillery was deficient, we were unprovided with mortars, unprepared for war, and,—thanks to the former Government—lacking even the very mainspring and nerve of war—money; so that when we Triumvirs met together on the night of our election to examine into the state of the financial and war departments, it was put to the vote whether we should not resign our charge the day following. The population, in consequence

of the long corruption of slavery, was ignorant and idle ; distrustful and suspicious of all things and of all men. We were new men, unknown to the masses, without prestige of birth, wealth, or tradition. The men of the former Government, who represented the *Moderate* Constitutional party, with Mamiani at their head, not only spread abroad sinister prophecies as to the results of the Republican form of Government adopted, but did not even shrink from conspiring with our foreign foes. Gaëta was a centre and forge of intrigue, disturbance, conspiracy, and even of open rebellion, as at Ascolano. We were assailed unexpectedly by enemies whose name was powerful in Italy from old affection, who had the reputation of being invincible in war, and were supported by the *prestige* of a republican banner like our own, by the King of Naples, by Austria and by Spain.

Nevertheless our raw troops put the Neapolitan troops to flight, gave battle to the Austrians, and held out for two months against the French army.

On the 30th of April our young army routed the veterans of Oudinot, and their conduct on the 3d and 30th of June was such as to call forth the admiration of the enemy. The people, renewed to greatness by the power of a *principle*, took their part in the defence, and bore their privations with Roman calmness ; they laughed and joked under bombardment. People, Assembly, and Triumvirate,

formed one indivisible whole; each strengthening each by unlimited faith and trust. We governed without need of tribunals or prisons, and I was able to send word to Mamiani, when informed of his nightly conferences with Lesseps, that he was welcome to go on conspiring with the enemy, and had nothing to fear from the Government, but that he had better be careful to conceal his doings from the people. We were able to despise their paltry conspiracies, and at length Count Campana, convinced by many experiments of the hopelessness of their efforts, voluntarily came to us to denounce his accomplices.

All these things were due to the Republican institution; to the noble instincts of our people, called out by the existence of a *Popular* Government, to the formula of God and the People, which awakened in each man's heart a consciousness of his own duty and his own right, to our faith and trust in the masses, and to their faith and trust in us.

Our Monarchy, with 45,000 soldiers and Piedmont as a reserve force, could find no other means of salvation than treachery. And even now, while I write these lines, our Monarchy, with half-a-million of men under arms, troops, mobilised National Guard, and volunteers; with large pecuniary means and a huge *matériel* of war, with twenty-five millions of Italians wanting Venice—shrinks from assailing

the Austrian forces that are encamped upon Italian soil.

Viva la Repubblica! Only the Republican sentiment could inspire the Italians with such valour.

These words were written by Luciano Manara at nine o'clock in the evening of the 3d of June, in his relation of the events of that day.

I know not how well the Romans remember 1849 now. But if Roman mothers have done their duty, and taught their children due reverence for the Republican martyrs of their city who fell in that year; if they have pointed out to them the spot where fell the young poet of the people, Goffredo Mameli; the spot where Manara, already weakened by his wound, led nineteen followers against a position held by 300 Frenchmen and died attacking it; the spot where fell Daverio and Ramorino, refusing to retreat although reduced to 20 against 100, the Villa Corsini, Villa Valentini, Vascello, Villa Pamfili,—the very stones of Rome—each one sanctified by the blood of one who fell with a smile on his face, and the Republican cry upon his lip,—our rising Rome will never, or at least will not long be profaned by the monarchy.

The writings next inserted, form, so to speak, the epilogue of the Roman Drama, and conclude that period of my labours embracing the years 1848 and 1849. I published them in Switzerland.

A LETTER TO
MESSRS. DE TOCQUEVILLE & DE FALLOUX,
MINISTERS OF FRANCE.

(First published by the Italian Refugee Fund Committee
in 1849.)

GENTLEMEN,—If in your speeches in the Assembly, on the 6th and 7th of August, you had restricted yourselves to calumniating *me*, I should have been silent. Throughout my life I have never felt anything but indifference to calumny and contempt for the calumniators. But you have calumniated an entire revolution, holy in its right, and pure from all excess in its career; a whole people, good, brave, and remarkable for the attachment to order, and for the capability of discipline, which it has inherited from its ancestors. You have, to serve your own ends—you men of study and calm philosophy—repeated at the tribune the same commonplaces of “anarchy,” “foreign faction,” and “terror,” with which the journalists, hired to prepare the way for an iniquitous expedition, systematically fed the public mind for the space of two months. You have deliberately, with the smile of irony on your lips, cast your reactionary slanders upon those

who have died for their awakening country. It is necessary for the honour of humanity that some one should protest. It is necessary, not for you, not for a parliamentary majority from which, under the influence of egotism and brute force, all moral sense has departed, but for those amongst you who suffer, as we suffer, for their lost liberty, and for the future of France, that the voice of one honest man should be heard, and should say to you, "Gentlemen, your eloquence is artifice, your faith hypocrisy; throughout the whole series of your declarations you have done nothing but lie to France and to Europe. If there is anything viler than the executioner, it is he who insults the corpse, who deals a blow, like that of her valet upon the pale cheek of Charlotte Corday." I come forward, therefore, to protest in the name of Rome. I know men, who, for the honour of France, ought now to do what I am doing: they are the *employés* of your chancellerie at Rome,* whom I have seen blush at the conduct of their Government, and who thanked me for the protection afforded them, and for the admirable conduct of the Roman people; but they fear dismissal from their posts. I know others—who from Rome itself, in the face of sacerdotal vengeance, would now willingly protest against your calumnies; but your foreseeing administration has deprived them of the only means

* Messrs. Degerando, Lerue, Astier, etc.

of so doing, by suppressing every journal in Rome except your own.*

Rome was without a sovereign. The Pope had deserted and fled to Gaeta. A governmental commission, which he had instituted, had refused to act. Two deputations, sent one after the other entreating him to return, were repulsed. It was necessary to put an end to a state of things which was inevitably leading to anarchy and civil war. At one o'clock on the morning of the 9th of February the downfall of the temporal power, and as a consequence, the inauguration of the republic, were proclaimed. By whom? By the Constituent Assembly of the Roman States. In what manner had that Assembly been elected? By universal suffrage. Had there been any—I do not say terror—but even any agitation, any influence illegally exercised? No, all had taken place calmly, quietly, without corruption, without threats. Was the minority imposing? Out of *one hundred and forty-four* members present, *eleven* voices declared against the proclamation of the Republic, as inopportune; *five* against the abolition of the temporal power. How many among those whom you now stigmatise as *foreigners*, how many Italians born out of the Roman States were then seated upon the benches of the Assembly? *Two*—Garibaldi and General Ferari. No, only one, for

* Le Giornale di Roma.

Garibaldi had already set out for Rieti. It was not until some time later that Saliceti, Cernuschi, Cannonieri, Dall-Ongaro, and myself were elected. In what manner was the double proclamation received by the populations? Was there through all the extent of the Roman territory a single attempt at resistance, a single mark of dissent, a single protestation in favour of the fallen power? No, not one. A few carabinieri on the frontiers of Naples deserted, perhaps imagining themselves compromised by the arrests they had been obliged to make under Gregory. And this was all. The towns and the country saluted the Republic with a common joy. The old municipalities, elected under the papal regime, sent in their adhesion (since renewed by those elected by universal suffrage) on the 11th of March. Pius IX. had still some personal friends; the Papal Government could not boast of one. And later on, after the 30th, when the Government, on the eve of the quadruple invasion, was obliged to concentrate its forces, and could therefore retain only a moral influence in the provinces—in the midst of the financial crisis, and in spite of the efforts of some few reactionaries, this, the conservative element of the state, renewed the testimony of a spontaneous adhesion to the Republic. From Bologna, Ancona, Perugia, Civita Vecchia, Ferrara, Ascoli, Cesena, Fano, Faenza, Forlì, Foligno, Macerata, Narni, Pesaro, Orvieto, Ravenna,

Rieti, Viterbo, Spoleto, Urbino, Terni, two hundred and sixty-three municipalities sent addresses, declaring, in the name of the populations, that the abolition of the temporal power and the existence of the Republic formed henceforth a double condition of life for the Roman States.

The Constituent Assembly, consisting of 150 members, the *élite* of the country, by the instincts of the heart, if not by the power of intelligence, and of whom seven only did not belong to the Roman States, kept their seats, without interruption, until the moment when brute force, violating the duties and promises of France, dissolved them. That Assembly had dictated or sanctioned everything that had been done from the 9th of February until the 2d of July.

And by whom did it govern? First, by an Executive Committee: two Romans, Armellini and Montecchi, and one Neapolitan, Saliceti; afterwards by the Triumvirate—the same proportion. But below the supreme executive, all that served to vivify and practically to carry out the common thought, all that represented or that affected the country in administration, in the distribution of offices, in the every-day affairs of state, was purely Roman. The president of the council under the executive committee, Muzzarelli; the minister of grace and justice, Lazzarini; of foreign affairs, Rusconi; those of the interior, Saffi and Mayer;

of finance, Guicioli and Manzoni ; of public works, Sterbini and Montecchi ; of war, Campello and Calandrelli—all belonged to the Roman States. The police (*sicurezza pubblica*) was successively directed by Mariani, Meucci, Meloni, and Galvagni, all Roman subjects. The ministry of public instruction was intrusted to a Roman, Sturbinetti ; other Romans were charged with the direction of the public debt, and of the statistical department, and with the presidency of the High Court of Justice, the direction of the hospitals, the mint, etc. A commission of seven, all Romans—Sturbinetti, Piacentini, Salvati, Meucci, Allocatelli, Spada, Castellani—was named to examine all applications for employment. Not a single prefect, not a single *employé* or government officer in the provinces, who was not born a subject of the Roman States. Amongst all the superior officers successively appointed, from the first to the last day of the Republic, I find but two men who were not born Romans—Avezzana, minister of war, and Brambilla, a member of the financial committee,—the latter of whom, however, had two fellow-officers who were Romans—Valentini and Constabili.

And the army : the small army concentrated in Rome at the time of the siege was composed of the 1st of the line, Colonel de Pasqualis ; 2d ditto, Colonel Gaucci Mollara ; 3d ditto, Colonel Marchetti :—all these were Romans, soldiers and officers.

Two light regiments: The first, commanded by Masi—the very man whom M. de Corcelles, in his despatch of the 12th of June, puts down as a foreigner—entirely Romans; the second, commanded by Pasi, the same. The Roman Legion, commanded by Galletti; the Riflemen, commanded by Mellara—since dead of his wounds—all Romans. The small body of the *Reduci*, Romans. The Battalion Rignami, Romans. The regiment called The Union, Romans. The body of Carabiniers, General Galletti, Romans. The Dragoons, Romans. The body of Engineers, Romans; the Artillery, Romans. All these, all the chiefs I have already named—the Colonels Piana, Amedei, Berti-Pichat; the General-in-Chief Rosselli; the Chief Intendants, first Gaggiotti, and afterwards Salvati; the principal *employés* at the Ministry of War—all Romans—represented the indigenous element.

Where, then, were the foreigners? Garibaldi and his legion, 800 men; Arcioni and his legion, 300 men; Manara, dead for liberty, and his Lombard Riflemen, 500 men; 200 Poles; the foreign legion, 100 men; and the handful of brave men who defended the *Vascello* under Medici. Altogether, 2000 men; no, not really so many, because Arcioni's legion contained, at least, one-third of Romagnoli, and the little knot of cavalry which formed part of Garibaldi's legion, and which was commanded by Masina of Bologna—dead on the

field—were almost all Roman citizens, and because half even of the foot soldiers of Garibaldi belonged to the States.

The number of “foreigners” who assisted in the defence of Rome was from 1400 to 1500 men; from 1400 to 1500 men amongst a total of 14,000; for it is well that Italy should know that 14,000 men, a young army without traditions, and improvised under the very fire of the enemy, held in check, for two months, 30,000 soldiers of France. You knew all this, gentlemen, or you *could* have known it, and therefore you *ought* to have done so; and nevertheless you shamelessly gave out to the Assembly the number of “foreigners” as 20,000, as a proof that, after all, it was not the Roman idea that you had endeavoured to stifle in blood; and upon this cipher of your own invention depends the greater part of your argument. Foreigners! I ask pardon of my country for having inscribed the word, after you, upon my page. What! Lombards, Tuscans, Italians, foreigners at Rome! And it is by you, Frenchmen, by you—who, in re-establishing the pontifical throne, have been supported by Austrians and Spaniards—that this reproach is made. A year ago our provinces sent the *élite* of their youth to fight upon the plains of Lombardy, as to a convention of honour; but I do not remember that Radetzky ever called them in his proclamations *foreigners*. The absolute denial of Italian nation-

ality has been reserved for the nephew of him who, at St. Helena, uttered these words:—" *Unity of manners, of language, of literature, show that Italy is destined to form a single country.*"

The accusation of violence, of a reign of terror, directed against the Republican Government, is an accusation to which the lie is now solemnly given by the facts of our defence. The armed enthusiasm of a whole people is not to be commanded by terror,* and you are compelled, gentlemen, either to calumniate the valour of the French arms, or to confute your own statements:—to declare that a few factious individuals were not only able to restrain a population of 160,000 souls, but also, for two months, to contend with and often to conquer your army; or, in order to preserve yourselves from the stain of imbecility and cowardice, to confess that the government, the people, the National Guard, and the army of Rome were all united together as brothers in the common idea of liberty, and of war to the enemies of the Republic. It is necessary to speak of this, so that, at least, you cannot repeat the absurd accusation without others being able to reply, "*Yours is a premeditated lie.*"

* The National Guard numbered about 13,000 men, and by virtue of its organisation anterior to the Republican Government, which excluded from active service the poorest class, it represented the middle class in Rome.

Pass by the assassination of Rossi, which has been so often and so hypocritically cited. The Republic, inaugurated on the 9th of February 1849, need not exculpate itself from a deed which occurred on the 16th of November 1848, when the princely party, the *Moderates*, the partisans of Charles Albert, possessed the field, and drove away, or condemned to absolute silence, the men of the Republican faith. No one in Italy accuses your revolutions of having had their rise in assassination, because the Duke of Berri fell by the dagger, and five or six attempts at regicide succeeded each other in the space of two years in Paris. Mark the facts which, in every time and in every place, accompany every system supported by violence. During nearly five months of Republican Government can you, gentlemen, point out a single condemnation to death for a political offence?—a single sentence of exile, founded upon political suspicions?—a single exceptional tribunal instituted in Rome to judge political offences?—a single newspaper suspended by order of the government?—a single decree directed to restrain the liberty of the press anterior to the siege? If so, point them out. Point out the laws originating in a system of terror; point out the ferocious bands of whom you speak; point out the victims of our rule—or resign yourselves to be branded as liars.

In one of our declarations we said, “The Re-

publican banner raised in Rome by the representatives of the people, does not represent the triumph of one faction of citizens over another ; it represents a common triumph, a victory gained by the many, accepted by the immense majority ; the triumph of the principle of good over that of evil, of the common right over the arbitrary rule of the few, of the sacred equality which God has decreed to all, over privilege and despotism. We cannot be Republicans without being and proving ourselves better than the overthrown powers. . . . We are not the government of a party, but the government of a nation. . . . Neither intolerance nor weakness. The Republic is conciliating and energetic. "*The government of the Republic is strong, therefore fearless.*" In these lines were summed up the Republican programme ; nor was it ever violated by the men who ruled our Republic, as yours has been, O ! ministers of France.

And we were strong, strong in the love of the good—the bad amongst us are but few ;—strong in the common consent of the citizens, and with a strength differing widely from yours, gentlemen. We had no necessity, in order to maintain ourselves in power, to place the capital in a state of siege, to dissolve the National Guard, to fill the prisons, to exile (amongst others) the representatives of the people, to condemn to transportation hundreds of working men, and to surround ourselves by cannon

and soldiers. Our capital was cheerful and happy under the weight of sacrifice which sudden changes must always impose upon a state; tranquil and serene when the presence of your army under its walls might have provoked the malcontents, if malcontents were to be found in Rome, to acts of rashness. Our National Guards furnished upwards of 7000 men for active service within the city and on the walls. Our prisons were all but empty of political offenders. Two or three individuals strongly suspected of intercourse with your camp, two or three cardinals taken in the very act of conspiracy, and an official, Zamboni, guilty of desertion, were all who were under trial when M. de Corcelles visited the prisons. The five or six prisoners—Freddi, Alai, and the rest found by him in the Castle of St. Angelo—were there by order of Pius IX., and for plots against his government. The men most averse to the Republic—a Mamiani, a Pantaleoni—walked freely through the streets of Rome. We reminded the people, who mistrusted them, that the Republic, superior to the dethroned power, held opinion to be inviolable, unless manifested in dangerous acts; and the people, generous by nature, and from a consciousness of power, understood and respected this. Nor was there any danger for such men, until we could no longer interpose, and the spectacle of your brute force had irritated the multitude to reaction. Owing to the

impossibility of keeping guard round the whole circuit of the city, several of our cannons often remained accessible to any one, and without a single soldier to guard them. And thus it happened on the 16th of May, when our troops were sent to Velletri against the army of the King of Naples—when, from 5 A.M. until midnight, the city remained without a single soldier, entrusted solely to the people.

The French troops were at a little distance from the walls. The few guards left at the palace-gates were withdrawn, as they were wanted elsewhere. The affection of the people was our safeguard. Neither then, nor at any other time, amidst the evils of an inevitable financial crisis, in the midst of physical privations inseparable from the semi-blockade which your forces extended around us, alike under your bombs as under the corruption which your agents and those from Gaeta endeavoured to excite—was a single attempt at insurrection made by those whom M. Drouyn de Lhuys insolently calls the honest ones. Not a single voice arose to say to us, Descend! Faction! terror! Ah, if you, ministers of France, retained a shadow of shame, you would, on looking around you and thinking of the terror and violence by which you rule in Paris, have studiously avoided those words, from the fear that others might read therein your own condemnation. And if the Assembly before

which you spoke had not been irreparably corrupt and inaccessible to the love of truth—if the members who supported your foreign policy by their votes, instead of servilely following in the track of the Power of the moment, whatsoever it might be, had had any political system in their minds, however different from ours, or had been actuated by any real faith—a hundred voices would have arisen to say to you, “Be silent, nor dishonour our aims by open falsehood. What! your first decree in Rome is to establish the council of war for political offences; on the 5th of July you dissolve the clubs, you forbid all meetings, you threaten exemplary punishments to protect persons having friendly relations with your troops; on the 6th, you dissolve the Civic Guard; on the 7th, you command the complete disarming of the citizens; on the 14th, you suppress the journals; on the 18th, you fulminate threats against any meeting composed of more than five persons. All these acts of yours in the midst of a population which you declare to be favourable to you, and which come officially announced to us by your journal, are exactly those which we, upon your word, believed to have taken place as part of a system of terror in Rome under the Republican Government, and of which we do not discover a trace in their decrees; and yet you impudently persist in throwing out an accusation against them, which must recoil upon yourselves,

and you boast yourselves the restorers of liberty in peace and order."

And this state of things still exists—exists two months after your triumph. The prisons are choked with men for the most part guilty only of having obeyed the Republic, and pointed out by spies to priestly vengeance. Upwards of fifty prisoners are confined in the Castle of St. Angelo, guilty of having lent their services in our Republican hospitals. Even the subaltern officials* in the police are not spared in Rome, and are ferociously condemned to the galleys for life. In Terni, in Bologna, in Ancona, in Rimini, young men guilty of having a musket in their possession have been shot. There is not, perhaps, in the Roman States, one family in five, one of whose members is not either an exile or a prisoner. Even the men of the self-called *Moderate* party—the men whom, on entering Rome, you declared to be rightfully there—are, through you, in exile. Mamiani, Galeotti, Father Ventura, are exiles. Your work is one of destruction, equal to that accomplished by the monarchy in Spain in 1823. Would that you had at least the brutal courage of that monarchy! But, false interpreters of an idea in which you do not believe, secret enemies to the banner which you have publicly sworn to serve, conspirators rather than ministers, you are condemned to wrap your-

* Capanna, Petralia.

selves in hypocritical and premeditated falsehood—falsehood in your fundamental assertions; falsehood in the particulars; falsehood in yourselves; falsehood in your agents; falsehood—I blush in saying it for France, which you have at length brought so low as to soil her traditionary honour—falsehood in the generals of your army. You have conquered by falsehood, and by falsehood you endeavour to justify yourselves. General Oudinot lied, when, in order to deceive the populations, and to smooth for himself the road to Rome, he vilely trafficked in our affections for France by keeping the Italian tricolor, which he knew himself about to overthrow, entwined with the French flag at Civita Vecchia until the 15th of July. He lied, impudently lied by affirming, in his proclamation, that the greater part of the Roman army had fraternised with the French, when the whole staff of the army protested and resigned, when only 800 men (at the present time even they are dissolved) accepted the proposed conditions of service. He lied like a coward, when, after having given his solemn promise in writing not to assault the city before *Monday*,* the 4th of June, he assaulted it on the night before the Sabbath. The envoy Lesseps lied when, betrayed by a culpable weakness, partly redeemed by the hope of remedying the evil, he

* Letter of the 1st of June to General Roselli : “ Only—I defer the attack of the place until Monday morning at least.”—

reassured us by continual promises of a conclusive treaty, and conjured us not to attach importance to the movements of the French troops, which he declared were dictated solely by the necessity of satisfying the soldiers, who were impatient of repose—whilst, in the meantime, you basely took advantage of our good faith to study unmolested our defences, to strengthen yourselves, and to occupy unexpectedly, *during an armistice*, the strategical position of Monte Mario. M. de Corcelles lied, when, in contradiction to the declaration of the Roman municipality, to that of the foreign consuls, and to the testimony of a whole city, he declared that Rome had never been bombarded. The bombs fell for many nights, and particularly from the 23d to the 24th, and from the 29th to the 30th, most frequently and injuriously upon the Corso, upon the Piazza di Spagna, upon the Babbuino, upon the Colonna Palace, upon the hospital of Santo Spirito, upon that of the Pellegrini, and in other places. You lied, M. de Tocqueville, when, relying upon the ignorance of your majority, you boasted, as a solitary fact in history, of the choice of the point towards the Porta San Pancrazio for assaulting the city, for the greater safety of the people and their habitations. Rome offers at the gate of San Paolo, and at the gate of San Giovanni, an open country; whilst the gate of San Pancrazio is surrounded by the people and their houses. The

gate of San Pancrazio was chosen because from thence a communication with Civita Vecchia could be kept up with less risk ; and because, whilst from the other points it would be necessary to encounter the people and their barricades (which you rightly feared), from that of San Pancrazio, the Janiculum dominating Rome, offered the opportunity of conquering it, not by a war of men, but of bombs and cannons. You have all lied—from him who is the first amongst you, to the lowest of your agents—lied to us, to the Assembly, to France, and to Europe, when, from the first day of the nefarious undertaking to the last, you gave repeated promises of protection, of brotherhood, and of liberty, which you had already determined to betray.

Having resolved, in conjunction with Gaeta, Spain, and Austria, to overturn republican liberty in Rome, and after having so long conspired yourselves as to be deceived into the idea that conspiracy and reaction amongst us would second your designs, you demanded assistance from the Assembly—deceiving it, as was unanswerably shown by the after discussions,—as to the object of the expedition. And you deceived the commission charged with questioning you ; the soldiers whom, at Toulon, you persuaded you were sending them to fight against the Austrians ; the inhabitants of Civita Vecchia, amongst whom you descended, like a masked thief, with two proclamations, one of which destroyed the

other. Then, when the day of the 30th* moved men to indignation, again deceiving the Assembly, by sending Lesseps to follow out the decree of the 7th, and writing the same day to General Oudinot to remain firm, and promising reinforcements ; then through the same messenger giving instructions authorising him to act according to the will of the Assembly, but enjoining him, nevertheless, to maintain himself in agreement with Rayneval, who had instructions directly opposite : then us ; then all : to-day most likely deceiving the Pope, to whom you have promised to restore his authority unconditionally, and whom now, finding it difficult to make France pardon you for having dishonoured her, you would wish to reduce to a constitutional proconsul, dependent upon your policy. Nevertheless, you have not lied so skilfully, but that even in your own words we find the right to perpetual revolt, and the absolute condemnation of all that you have done, or may do, without legally consulting the will of the people ill used by you.

The preamble of your constitution in article 5 declares—FRANCE RESPECTS FOREIGN NATIONALITIES SHE NEVER EMPLOYS HER FORCES AGAINST THE LIBERTY OF ANY PEOPLE. And, strangled by that article, which you would fain, but dare not, tear—without the consciousness of virtue

* The first attack upon Rome, when the French were routed and put to flight.—(*Translator.*)

or the vigour of crime—you have let fall words which Europe has gathered up, and which are now torture to your souls. Odillon Barrot, the man who, on the 31st of January 1848, declared the absolute right of every Italian state to liberty and independence*—declared to the commission of the Assembly “*that the idea of the Government was not to make France co-operate in the destruction of the Roman Republic . . . and that she would act independently of every solidarity with the other powers.*” And when, on the 16th of April, the reporter of the commission referred these declarations to the Assembly, the President of the Council said—“*I do not deny a single word uttered by me before the commission, and referred to this Assembly.*” And he added—“*We are not going to Italy to impose a Government, neither that of the Republic nor any other. . . . We do not wish to employ the forces of France to defend in Rome one form of government or another. No ; our intention is to be present at the events which may occur, in the double interest of our own influence and of liberty, which may be jeopardized.*”

The declaration of the French corps of occupation to the President of Civita Vecchia, dated the

* “ Besides the absolute right of all the Italian states to chose that form of government which they may judge fitting in all the fulness of their independence, and the formal declaration of France that she intends to maintain that independence, there is another question—the necessity of the independence of Italy.”

24th of April, declared that the French Government "*would respect the voice of the majority of the Roman populations . . and that it would never impose upon them any form of Government.*"

On the 26th, General Oudinot repeated that "*the object of the French was not to exercise any oppressing influence, nor to impose any Government upon the Romans against their will.*"

On the 7th of May the President of the Council declared to the Assembly that "*those proclamations, the work of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, involved the whole objects of the expedition.*"

"*We only march upon Rome,*" said the reporter of the Commission, "*in order to protect her against foreign intervention and against the excesses of a counter-revolution . . . as protectors, or,*" quoting the expression used by the President of the Council to the Commission, "*if called in as arbitrators.*"

Odillon Barrot repeated on the same day, that "*the Assembly was unwilling that, under the direct pressure of Austria, the contra-revolutionary spirit should triumph in Rome.*"

And the Minister for Foreign Affairs confirmed this by saying that, "*the object of the expedition was to assure to the Roman populations the conditions of a good Government, of full liberty—conditions that would have been compromised by reaction or by foreign intervention.*" And he denied that General Oudinot had received orders to attack the Roman Republic;

he denied that the General had intimated to the Roman Government that they must yield up their powers. Then came the solemn vote of the Assembly :—"THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY INVITES THE GOVERNMENT TO MAKE THE NECESSARY PREPARATIONS WITHOUT DELAY, IN ORDER THAT THE ITALIAN EXPEDITION MAY NO LONGER BE DIVERTED FROM THE OBJECT ASSIGNED TO IT."

And from that time forwards, O ministers of France, at every instant, in all the steps that you have taken towards your secret intention—in the words dictated by you to your envoy, the choice of whom was intended to convince the Assembly of your liberal intentions—in all the conferences held with us by your agents, in the projects of agreement* drawn up by M. Lesseps and General Oudinot, on the 16th and 18th of May; in the letter of M. de Corcelles, on the 13th June, "*France has but one object: the liberty of the Pontiff, the liberty of the Roman States, and the peace of the world;*" your Government has always, directly or indirectly, pointed to the will of the populations as

* A Provisional Government shall be substituted for the present executive power, composed of Roman citizens, and chosen by the Roman National Assembly, until the moment when *the populations called upon to manifest their wishes shall have determined the form of Government which shall rule them*, and the guarantees of security which shall be afforded to Catholicism and the Papacy."—Project of May 16, Art. 3.

"*The Roman populations have the right of freely pronouncing upon the form of their Government.*"—Project of May 18, Art. 2.

the source of every right, and promised them a free vote. The pitiful honour was reserved for you alone, M. de Falloux, of having been the first to declare to Europe, in your speech of the 7th of August, that France had lied up to that day. The victim was then overthrown, with the dagger at its throat. But your tardy declaration of the real object of the expedition, gentlemen, does not cancel the repeated promises of your government. The Roman people has a right to call upon you and say, *Fulfil them !* And we, who know you of old—we who, aware of your designs and of the necessity that they should be made clear, in order that the good, hitherto deluded, may denounce you and seek safety elsewhere—we hold it as a duty to say to you, and we will say it to you daily, whatever you may do, “ Fulfil them : what pretext now remains to you for not fulfilling them ? Rome is free, now, from every *foreigner*—from all the *factions*. Some of them have died under the carbines of Vincennes—the rest wander in exile. The *honest men* are reassured and reinstated : they know that all the cabinets, even the Republican cabinet of France, are ready to labour in their defence, and the people know how many dangers the expression of their dearest wish involves for the future. Take courage, then : make the trial once again. Give the people a free vote. Withdraw ; and let the armies of your allies, now that the mission fulfilled

by you in the capital, is fulfilled by them in the provinces, withdraw themselves also ; and call upon the citizens, through a Provisional Government, to declare their will concerning the temporal power of the Pope and the institutions which ought to govern the nation. We from afar, exiles through you, accept the experiment. Accept it you, then—or again resign yourselves to be branded as liars.”

You will not, you dare not do it ; you know that the result of the experiment would be the condemnation and the ruin of your designs. Endeavouring to destroy the Republic in France, and anxious to educate your soldiers to fire upon its flag,* you cannot run the risk of seeing it raised again amongst us by the choice of the people. Weak, even to cowardice, in your diplomacy—transfixed with shame for the part you have played in Europe—uneasy about the opinions of your fellow-citizens—you thought to conciliate your fears and your aims by the appearance of strength, proving your vigour in action by attacking a weak new-born Republic ; and now you would fain deceive yourselves into thinking that a few orders of the day, dated from Rome, will suffice to flatter the pride and the warlike tendencies of your people. Your President needed the votes of the Catholic party ; and you need, for your views, that the principle of

* The events of December 1852 give a character of prophecy to this accusation.—*Translator.*

Authority founded upon privilege, should be able, at the right moment, to appeal to the example of a great religious institution. Therefore, you remain at Rome. And you will remain there as long as you are able, for you know that nothing but a foreign force can prevent a second revolution. You will remain, odious to both parties, going from subterfuge to subterfuge, from protocol to protocol; powerless to prevent priestly reaction on the one side, and popular discontent on the other; rendering the situation worse, not modifying it; still further complicating the diplomatic question, leaving undecided the political, and raising up the religious question. Europe will see that you are not only wicked, but incapable—that you have sullied the glorious name of France and the honour of your arms, yet failed to fulfil either your public or your secret programme—and that you have gained the curses of the people without having won back the confidence of their oppressors.

For the name and honour of France *are* sullied, not only by the deed of iniquity itself, but by the mode in which it has been accomplished—not only by the shameless violation of the programme of non-intervention and of international independence inscribed upon her national flag, and subscribed to by all the ministers of her government—not only by the cowardly oppression exercised by the French arms, in conjunction with the Neapolitan, Austrian,

and Spanish forces, against a state almost unarmed, and with a population greatly inferior to that of the smallest of the invading states—not only by all the repeated promises of liberty, peace, and order, successively betrayed; but even by the smallest particulars of the undertaking. I do not know of any period in modern history—that of the dismemberment of Poland only excepted—in which, in so brief a time, such an amount of infamy has been accumulated upon the head of a nation daring to breathe the name of liberty. As if the consciousness of crime made those committing it lose all sense of dignity, as if the corruption of the chief actors infected their instruments, every act, from the first day of the occupation to that upon which I write, has been marked by immorality. Whilst, on the one hand, a government minister could descend so low as to insert in the copy* of the instructions given to M. Lesseps (recently communicated to the State Council) an expression which entirely altered its meaning, I myself was compelled to order the imprisonment of two officers who had come to us for the purposes of parley, and who, abusing our generous confidence, abstracted the plans of our city works; whilst General

* “Everything which, by checking the course of intervention on the part of other powers animated by less moderate sentiments, will leave a greater field for our influence; *all that which shall hasten the fall of a regime condemned to perish,*” etc.

The phrase in *italics* was added in the copy.

Oudinot—before any act of hostility had taken place, and although the two banners, joined by the French themselves, still waved together upon the tree of liberty—disarmed, and retained as prisoners, in Civita Vecchia, the corps of Mellara ; a little later a French superior officer disgraced himself by snatching with his own hand from the breast of their dead Colonel, in the church and during the funeral service, the Italian cockade. Ah, we may forgive you, ministers of France, the incalculable and unprovoked evil that you have done us, our sorrows, our fallen or dispersed brethren, even the postponement of our future emancipation ; but one crime we cannot forgive—that of having dishonoured, for many years to come, the name of a nation to which we all turned as to an emancipating nation ; that of having by falsehood, by the materialism of promotions, and by the example of their chiefs, corrupted the soldiers of France, making them executioners of their brothers, in the name of the Pope, whom they despise, and by the side of Austria, whom they abhor ; of having degraded to a meaningless symbol—to a material idol, to be blindly followed wherever it may lead, a banner which is the sign of an idea, of a faith ; of having sown the seeds of a hatred which will be slow and difficult to uproot between two nations which everything tended to unite in the bonds of affection, between the sons of fathers who have taken

together the sacrament of glory and suffering upon all the fields of Europe ; of having brutally given the lie to the holy dream of the brotherhood of the peoples, and afforded the enemies of progress and humanity the ferocious joy of seeing France, degraded into the bully and the executioner, deal a blow upon the front of our Italian nationality, at the same time that she wounds that of Hungary in the rear for the goodwill and pleasure of Austria and the Czar.

Men without heart and without faith, the last disciples of a school, which, beginning with the atheistical doctrine of art for art's sake, concluded ultimately with the formula of power for power's sake, you have lost all understanding of past history, all presentiment of a future. Your minds are steeped in egotism, and in the fear of that European movement which no human power can arrest, which, accepted and directed, would develop itself peacefully, and which your culpable resistance may succeed too well in changing into the elements of a fearful war. You were incapable of understanding the grandeur and beauty of the new life of Italy, which was dawning in Rome, in the Rome of the people. But what were your hopes when you decreed the fratricidal war? To destroy, by wounding it to the heart, the national revolution? You ought to have seen that every resistance opposed to your arms by Rome, the mere fact of

your leaguings yourselves with three governments to suppress her movements, would give an everlasting consecration to the dogma of our unity, and make of that one word, Rome, a religion to all Italy. Re-make a throne for the Pope? For the Pope, and by bayonets? A constitutional throne for the Pope? A temporal throne may be re-established for a time by bayonets, but not that of the head of believers. And the simplest logic might have taught you that the Pope can be nothing, if not an absolute monarch. Two months from this time will show you that you have, in all respects, failed in your purposes.

You wished, you said so at least, to prevent the re-establishment of the old abuses in the Roman States; and yet those old abuses will inevitably reappear, one after the other, and all the stronger for having been cancelled by the Republican Government for five months and threatened for the future. You cannot change the habits, the tendencies, the wants of the aristocracy of the clergy; you cannot destroy the people's abhorrence of them; and you cannot support yourselves on a *moderate* intermediate party, which does not exist in Rome. You may dictate conditions, but the non-observance of all legal regulations has always been, and will always be, the mortal disease in the Roman States. And this non-observance, resulting from the nature of the elements which constitute the supreme power,

and which divest it of all real responsibility, will increase, for through your work the illegal war of secret associations will be substituted for legal and public agitation; and—may God forbid it!—the daggers of an incensed population, despairing of all legal protection, may seek to assert those rights which the law is unable to defend. Physical misery, financial ruin, and the anarchy inseparable from the contempt in which their rulers are held, will aggravate the contest amongst the different elements which compose the state. In the meantime you have the old government unconditionally restored, and the spy system returning into use, with the men, not even of Pius IX. but of Pope Gregory, masters at Rome and in the provinces.

You wished to maintain, to increase, French influence in Italy; and you have destroyed it—destroyed it with the people, whom you have iniquitously and ungratefully robbed of their liberty and independence—destroyed it with the people's oppressors, because, by condescending to ally yourselves with them, you have liberated them from the fear with which you had inspired them; and destroyed it with the satellites of the Papacy, because your situation in the face of France obliges you to annoy them with suggestions of concessions, which they neither will nor can admit without denying the *principle* which sustains them, and

digging their own graves. Your influence in Italy consisted in the hopes which the people persisted in reposing in you, and in the sword of Damocles which you held suspended over the heads of the princes. Now you are despised by one party, and abhorred as traitors by the other. The French name is a mark of scorn from one end of Italy to the other, and will remain so until unmistakable facts convince the world that France is re-awakened to the consciousness of her mission.

You wished to rebuild a throne, and give new lustre to the Papacy; I will tell you in what you have succeeded. You have raised the religious question, and given the finishing blow to a fallen institution. You aimed at saving the sovereign, and you have killed the Pope; destroying the moral *prestige* which surrounded him, by the aid of your arms—degrading, in the eyes of Italy, him who is the sole arbiter of the religious question, by foreign support, and separating him from his people by a torrent of blood. In that blood the Papacy was stifled. The only means of saving it—the only means of withdrawing it from the foreign influence which is its ruin, was to remove it from the sphere of political influences to the more pure and independent one of the soul. You have now closed for ever the last road to safety. The Papacy is extinct. Rome and Italy will never forgive the

Pope for having, as in the middle ages, called in foreign bayonets to transfix Italian breasts.

You are beginning now, gentlemen, to understand these things. Your cabinet conceals secrets of discomfiture, and dissipated illusions of a system of policy wavering between Paris and Gaeta, which will soon be revealed. You hear low murmurs of vengeance in Rome.

The Roman Republic has fallen ; but its right lives immortal—a spirit which will often rise to disturb your dreams. And it shall be our care to evoke it. The political question is intact. The Roman Constituent Assembly, by declaring that it yielded solely to force, without entering into any condition, or becoming a party to any unworthy compromise, took from you every basis of legal action. We have not capitulated. Rome's right exists as strong as on the day when the Republic was first inaugurated. Defeat has left it unchanged. The vote of the populations, legally and freely expressed, remains a normal condition of life, from which no one can now retreat. You dare not deny that right ; in all that has passed, you have but sought to weaken and to render doubtful its expression. And the defeat of those whom you falsely denominated factions, removing, even in the opinions of those who believed in you, every obstacle to the free voting of the populations, has

rendered the right of voting only more urgent and more sacred.

For us, for those who feel with us, the right of Rome has deeper root and other hopes than those which are merely local. The root of Rome's right embraces in its ramifications the whole of Italy. The hopes of Rome are the hopes of the Italian nation, whose reawakening neither your nor any other veto can prevent. God decreed that awakening on the day when, all monarchical delusions having been overcome one by one, when all false ideas of leagues and federations, which an erroneous doctrine had striven to implant amongst us, having been expiated by martyrdom, the Italian national instinct raised within the ancient capital the banner of national unity, and declared that GOD AND THE PEOPLE should henceforth be the only masters in Italy. Rome is the centre, the heart, of Italy ; the palladium of the Italian mission ; and the city wherein broods the secret of our future religious life can patiently endure the brief delay which your arms have unexpectedly caused in the development of its destinies.

You are ministers of France, gentlemen—I am only an exile ; you have power, gold, armies, and multitudes of men dependent on your nod ; I have only consolation in a few affections, and in this breeze of heaven, which from the Alps speaks to me of my country, and of which you, inexorable in

persecution, as are all those who fear, may yet deprive me. Yet I would not exchange my fate with yours. I bear with me in exile the calm inspired by a pure conscience. I can fearlessly raise my eyes to those of other men, without the dread of meeting any one who can say to me—“*You have deliberately lied.*” I have combated, and wherever I may be, will combat again, without pause as without fear, the wicked oppressors of my country—falsehood, in whatever shape she may clothe herself, and the powers which, like yours, rely upon maintaining or re-instituting the reign of privilege upon corruption, upon blind force, and upon the negation of the progress of the peoples. But I have fought with loyal arms; never have I sullied myself by calumny, or degraded myself by using the word *assassin* against one unknown to me, and who was, perhaps, better than myself.

God save you, gentlemen, from dying in exile, for you have no such consciousness with which to console yourselves.

JOSEPH MAZZINI.

September 1849.

[The next article in the Italian edition of Mazzini's works is entitled *Rome and the French Government*, and is reprinted from the 4th No. of the *Italia del Popolo*, a review published at Lausanne in 1849-50. The substance of the first part is nearly identical with that of the foregoing letter to Messrs. de Tocqueville and Falloux. The concluding pages upon the futility of all attempts to arrive at a compromise between the two principles represented in Italy by the Papacy and the People, are too important to be omitted from the present edition.]

ROME AND THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

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THE question, however, as far as the invasion of Rome, and the motives and particulars of that invasion are concerned, is completely settled, and we are at liberty to raise ourselves above this mire of contradiction, falsehood, and hypocrisy, and to view the subject from a higher sphere.

The inept incapable heirs of *La Doctrine* will struggle along as best they may, from difficulty to difficulty, from disgrace to disgrace, in the constant but useless endeavour to contrive a compromise between the two principles represented in Rome by the Pope and the People, so long as France and Italy choose to tolerate them. But the decision of the question does not rest with them.

The decision rests with Humanity.

Humanity and the Papacy—these are the two extreme terms of a controversy which is an integral part of the Providential progressive education of the human soul, and which has visibly agitated Europe for now four centuries. The substitution of the words *Liberty* and *Authority* for these two words leads to a misconception of the

terms of the problem, falsifies the elements by which the question should be decided, and assigns to Humanity a character of *opposition* tending to a negation of its very essence.

Monsieur Montalembert was the only member of the French Assembly who appeared to have even a glimpse of the true elevation of the contest. Despising all details, he, with a courage worthy of a better cause, assailed the Republican party in the front. Even he, however, was beneath the subject, in consequence of the error of which I have spoken ; yet such is the virtue of treating a question in the sphere of *principles*, that his discourse throws more light upon the true state of things than has been shed upon it by all the ministerial discourses made since the siege. And we, as Italians and Republicans, return Montalembert our thanks. He has given us the programme of the Catholic party, and this programme is a solemn confirmation of our own convictions. The compromises dreamed of by the men of *La Doctrine* are null, impossible. The *sint ut sunt* is still the symbol of Catholicism even at the present day. Liberty is irreconcilable with the Papacy. The absolute authority of the Catholic church must remain what it was in the time of Gregory XVI., must derive inspiration solely from its own conscience, unfettered by any institutions, unrestrained by any compact or bond whatsoever.

So says the orator of the Catholic party, and in order to render his statement as true in the future as it is in the present, he has only to cancel one thing—the conscience of the human race.

The conscience of the human race, superior to the Papacy, and to far higher than it—the conscience of the human race, which by its consent constituted the power and right of the Popes for many centuries, protests at the present day— not in the name of liberty, but of true Authority, against that institution for whose sake Monsieur Montalembert would suppress the free development of Roman life.

We are no followers of the eighteenth century and Voltaire. They denied and destroyed: where they destroyed, we seek to found; where they denied, we affirm. Humanity is, now as ever, deeply, inevitably religious, and because it is religious it makes war upon the Papacy, which is not religion, but the form or phantasm of religion.

The accusation of irreligion, of mere negation of *all* authority, which is cast against democracy, is unworthy of any who take the trouble to study its most important and most potent manifestations in a spirit of impartiality. We are combating to gain a true Authority for the world; we all desire the termination of this period of crisis, in which one only of the two human criterions of truth—the conscience of Humanity and the conscience of the

individual—is left to us. We all demand a common faith, a common pact, an interpreter of God's Law.

The cry for liberty which bursts forth from the peoples, is in fact a cry for emancipation from the corpse of a dead authority, which usurps the place of the new. But before this pact can be indeed religious, and our souls be security for its observance, it must first be freely accepted by our conscience; before this authority can indeed govern and direct our life, it must have faith in itself, and the world have faith in it; it is necessary that it should be to us a Word of unity, of progress, and of the unceasing revelation of the truth.* And we assert that not one of these essential characteristics of authority is possessed by the Papacy.

How was it that no one in all the French Assembly was able to state the question in these terms to Montalembert? How was it that no voice was raised to declare to him: "You are seeking to build upon the void; you discuss what *was*, but *is* not. Sir, the Papacy is dead; dead in blood and mire; dead for having betrayed its mission of protection of the weak against the strong; dead, for three centuries of fornication with Princes; dead, for having crucified Christ a second time in the name of egotism before the palaces of the

* Authority from *Auctor*, that which produces, which incites.

unrighteous, unbelieving, and hypocritical governments ; dead, for having uttered words of faith in which it believed not ; dead, for having denied human liberty and the dignity of the immortal soul ; dead, for having condemned science in Galileo, philosophy in Giordano Bruno, religious aspiration in John Huss and Jerome of Prague ; dead, for having condemned political life by crying anathema upon the rights of the peoples, civil life by jesuitism and corruption, and family life through confession made espionage, and division set between father and child, brother and brother, husband and wife ; dead to the princes since the treaty of Westphalia ; dead to the peoples since Gregory XI. and the Schism ; dead to Italy, since Clement VII. and Charles V. signed the infamous pact that crushed expiring liberty in Florence, as your soldiers now seek to crush the new-born liberty of Italy in Rome ; dead, because the people has arisen ; because men who for fifteen years made war upon the priesthood in the name of Voltaire, now hypocritically defend it ; dead, because Pius IX. has fled, accursed of the multitudes ; dead, sir, because you and yours defend it with arms and intolerance, and proclaim that the Papacy and Liberty cannot co-exist."

And I—it is the only time that—half-remorsefully—I speak of myself—I, Monsieur Montalem-

bert, who have never signed declarations nor accepted amnesties, because I would not sully my life with a lie, and because it is they who need forgiveness from us, not we from them—I who, for twenty years an exile, have sacrificed all the joys of life, and that which is of far more worth, the joys of my dear ones, to the worship of one sole idea—Italy the Initiatrix, my country *One* and free—I who loved you once when I read your *Pelerin Polonais*, and mourn over you now as the persecutor of my brothers and enemy of my nation;—shall I cancel my conscience and trample under foot the faith of five-and-twenty years, my sole support amid doubt, discouragement, delusion, and sorrows such as I wish you may never know—because the corruptors of the church find it impossible to reconcile their lust of princely dominion with the liberty of Italy and the progress of mankind?

Ah! I remember an Italian mother who regretted to have but two sons to offer to her country; and another who wrote to me—shaken for a moment by sorrows unknown to all but her—bidding me think on the 12th and following verses of the 6th chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. The first of these mothers had lost one son through your soldiers under the walls of Rome; the other had had two torn from her by exile, while the third had died by his own hand in prison. The words of those mothers are to me answer sufficient to many a

studied discourse. The religion of sacrifice is quite other than the religion upheld by your bayonets.

Perish the Papacy then, and long live Italy! If, said Padre Ventura, the church does not advance with the peoples, the peoples must advance without the church, against the church.

Against the church!—No; we will advance from the church of the past to the church of the future; from the dead to the living church; the church of free men and equals, wherein he shall be first who best has served his brothers, and where the seat of faith needs not to be upheld by force.

There is space enough for such a church between the Vatican and Capitol.

This cry of my soul, sir, this conviction which nothing can destroy, is the cry and the conviction of all the Italian youth who have thrilled with anger in reading your discourse, as they will thrill with affection in reading these words of mine. You may stifle my voice; theirs you cannot. You may blot out many lives; you cannot cancel life. The life of a nation is of God. Your efforts will break against the decree of Providence. Italy will be one.

And on the day when Italy is one, where will be the Papacy then?

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[The foregoing pages are followed, in the

Italian edition of Mazzini's complete works by a reprint of his *Letter to Louis Napoleon, President of the French Republic*, on the occasion of his message to the French Assembly, Nov. 12, 1850, in which he says: "*Nos armes ont renversés à Rome cette demagogie turbulente qui, dans toute la Péninsule Italienne, avait compromis la cause de la vraie liberté, et nos braves soldats ont en l'insigne honneur de remettre Pie IX, sur le trône de St. Pierre.*"

The letter refutes the calumnies disseminated by the retrograde party in France, as to the *terrorism* exercised by the Republic in Rome—calumnies which Mazzini has refuted at greater length in the autobiographical portion of this work, and by his citations from the *official acts of the Republic* which form the appendix to the present volume. It comments upon the character of the "*vraie liberté*" re-established by the French army, and points out the treachery and falsehood of the President, as well as his infidelity to the spirit of the Republican institutions he had sworn to maintain; but the crimes of the 2d December, and the sixteen years of subsequent degradation during which Englishmen have beheld France sinking deeper and deeper into the Imperial mud, render the re-publication of anterior warnings unnecessary. When the evil spirit has dropped his disguise, and stands in all his hideous nakedness before us, it is needless to point out the cloven hoof.]

THE HOLY ALLIANCE OF THE PEOPLES.

(Written in 1849.)

I.

NAPOLEON had fallen; the ascending movement of the French Revolution had ceased; Europe was wearied out by two-and-twenty years of war; the long-desired peace arrived, and they who brought it were hailed as benefactors, no matter who or what they were. The old dynasties, reconsecrated by victory, resumed their wonted sway; the new were scattered in exile, and the echo of the platoon by which Murat fell, conveyed to them the royal warning against any attempt to regain the thrones they had usurped and lost. Religion blessed the restoration; altar and throne upheld each other; the dualism of the Christian era appeared to be ended in a compact of love.

Yet, nevertheless, the conquering kings, uneasy and disturbed as if by a presentiment, gathered together in council to study new methods of protection against a tempest there were no signs to announce. Victory, which generally disjoins those who were allied during the battle, only suggested to them the necessity of a stronger bond. Jealous and suspicious each of the other, they yet hushed every quarrel and stifled all distrust, in order to

combine a common force against an unknown enemy. The acts of the 9th June, 25th September, and 20th November 1815, organised this common force.

The *Holy Alliance* inaugurated its new policy in the outraged name of God. The masters of the world united against the future. The treaty of Westphalia, 177 years before, had given the force of law to a system of equilibrium, or, as diplomats say, of *balance of power*, which allowed the weak some hope of assistance in case of oppression. Now the strong declared to the strong: *We will join together to prevent any of the weak from rebelling against the yoke we impose upon them; should any rebel, we will crush them.*

The policy of intervention against the progressive principle, of which the germ was contained in the *Holy Alliance*, was more distinctly developed and further extended in the Congress of Lubiana, May 12, 1821, which was the practical application of that of Verona. From that time forward, from the French intervention in Spain in 1823, to the intervention of three monarchies and a republic against Rome in '49—wheresoever a people has arisen and endeavoured to ameliorate its own condition—wheresoever an oppressed or dismembered nation has attempted to regain its own free action or its own frontier, the *Holy Alliance* has interfered to impede or prevent progress, and to protect

the oppressors. The compact of 1815 offered a lesson to Europe which democracy has not yet understood.

The powers by whom that compact was signed foresaw the future; foresaw the new adversary, destined, as soon as Europe should have recovered from her exhaustion, to arise against their dominion—the People. The masses, terror-struck by the spectacle of nearly a million bayonets waiting upon the orders of the allied princes, understood not; but the princes understood that Napoleon had in fact fallen, not before the brute force they had brought against him, but before the potency of a popular idea; before the outburst of the spirit of nationality which he had outraged. They knew that the first act of the great catastrophe completed at Waterloo had been played by the *people* in Spain; they knew that the Spanish war of 1808, the attempts at rebellion in Calabria and other parts of Italy, and the German movement of 1813, had awakened to conscious existence and given form and substance to a spirit stirring in the peoples and revealing to them: *You are the true masters of your native soil; you are the sole interpreters of your own law of life.* And they understood how that spirit was destined to expand; how, having once dared to measure itself against Napoleon, it would not long shrink before princes his inferiors in genius and power.

The Treaty of 1815, unlike the leagues formed in '93 against the French Revolution, was directed against all Europe, and was signed in the hour of victory. It was the first acknowledgment of the power of a new and until then unheeded element, an enforced homage paid to the solidarity of the nations, to the unity of European life ; it was a false and tyrannous application of a true *principle*, of that principle which is the soul of our belief, which declares the collective life of humanity. It was our part to give that principle its legitimate application, founded not upon the arbitrary privilege of a few, but upon the duty and right of all. It was the part of democracy, in opposition to the banner upon which the men of 1815 had inscribed *God and the Princes*, boldly to raise on high the banner bearing the device of *God and the People*.

II.

The presentiment of the princes was verified : the *people* arose ; not only in France, but in almost every country in Europe, with a power and vigour proportioned to the vastness of the aim to be achieved—an aim not merely political, but social. They rose, at first following and supporting those wealthier classes who had undertaken to fight their battle, the general battle for them ; then, when deceived by their leaders, who, as soon as they had acquired their own rights, turned against them—

with action more direct and demands more explicit. They dismembered their forces by wandering from programme to programme, from school to school ; some of which would even have been dangerous but for their absurdity. Inexperienced and guided rather by instinct than by any settled plan,—now betrayed by over-confidence in untried leaders, now by unwarranted distrust of those really trustworthy, they fell, rose, and fell again, wasting in the pursuit of illusions powers sufficient to have made or unmade a world, and shedding enough of pure and precious blood to have founded a religion.

But errors and defeats extinguished factions, not peoples. Nations do not die ; they are transformed. This prophetic agitation of the multitudes, this movement of the human race impelled by God towards a new goal, to a larger development of its faculties through association,—has continued to gain ground like a rising tide ; has increased in breadth and depth from lustre to lustre, from year to year, and, come what may, our victory is certain. Neither princely alliances, nor Papal arts and persecutions can henceforth avail other than to retard or render it more bloody. It is not in human power to wrest it from us.

Our victory is certain ; I declare it with the profoundest conviction, here in exile, and precisely when monarchical reaction appears most insolently secure. What matters the triumph of an hour ?

What matters it that by concentrating all your means of action, availing yourselves of every artifice, turning to your account those prejudices and jealousies of race which yet for a while endure, and spreading distrust, egotism and corruption, you have repulsed our forces and restored the former order of things? Can you restore men's faith in it, or think you can long maintain it by brute force alone, now that all faith in it is extinct? Compare the Italian movement of the last two years with those of twenty-eight and eighteen years ago; compare the popular insurrections of Sicily and Lombardy with the aristocratic and military movements of 1820 and 1821; the resistance of Venice, Bologna, and Rome, with the flights and capitulations of 1831. Our young Italians have learned how to die; therefore Italy will live. Through the arts of Louis Philippe you overcame the Monarchico-Constitutional insurrection of 1830; and we, the people, have answered you by the republican insurrection of 1848. You conquered, through your atrocious deception of the people, in Galicia, and we answered you by Hungary, as we shall answer you at no distant day by the Slavonian peoples. And the German movements?—And Vienna?—And the millions who lack bread?—And your Governments drained by the necessities of their rule, by corruption and espionage, by the cost of their regular armies and constant internecine

strife? Threatened and undermined on every side, can you hold all Europe for ever in a state of siege?

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Terror and corruption;—the governments have tried each in vain. The two parties are unequal—God is on the side of the peoples. The march of ideas is unceasing; the doctrine of castes, and the belief in inequality, are extinguished: the Pariah has raised his head and dared to look his masters in the face without flinching: from that moment the question was decided.

III.

But meanwhile, although our ultimate victory is infallible, we are for the time overthrown; thousands of mothers weep over sons lost in battle, in prison, or on the scaffold; thousands of exiles wander over foreign lands, suffering the material and moral misery of poverty and discouragement; and thousands of new martyrs and new exiles will be added to these, should we once again arise without having laid to heart the lessons of the past. These lessons may be summed up in one word—Union; sincere and active union, between the sons of the same land holding the same faith, and between all the peoples of Europe striving towards the same aim.

The history of the popular movements of the

last two years proves one important vital *fact*: we are stronger than our oppressors upon any and every given point. In Italy, in Germany, and in Hungary, the governments, unable to resist alone, had recourse to others, and only conquered by the help of intervention.

And from this fact two consequences result:—that our work is truly the work and will of the people, and that whensoever we shall arise simultaneously upon *every* point of our sphere of action we shall conquer. Intervention will then be impossible. We are bound to oppose the league of princes by a Holy Alliance of the peoples. We are bound to *constitute* democracy.

[Mazzini proceeds to show the necessity of substituting *association*, the term of the new epoch, for *individuality*, the term of the epoch now exhausted; and to point out the importance of a greater spirit of abnegation and discipline in the Liberal party. While the independent philosophers of the Pagan world were writing books now lost, the early Christians, by association in a religious hierarchy, remodelled the world.]

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In order to come to an understanding together to form our forces into one vast association, to organise European democracy into an army, in short—we have no need of a complete programme

of the European future. What we do require is, that, taking such bases as have been already agreed upon as our common ground, we should found upon them a common Pact and mode of action enabling us to avail ourselves of all our forces, so as to overthrow all the obstacles that stand in the way of the progress of the peoples.

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V.

The first of these bases is nationality. Since the period of that uncertain and dangerous *cosmopolitanism* by which the labours of the second half of the eighteenth century were distinguished, the constant tendency of Europe to rally round and organise itself beneath the banner of nationality, has been more and more clearly defined. Nor could it be otherwise. From the time when the idea—affirmed in twenty passages of the great poem and minor works of Dante—of the progressive collective life of the human race, became, through long historical and philosophical study, the accepted belief of the greatest intellects of our century, *humanity* was recognised as the supreme aim of every effort, of every advance. And from that recognition followed the perception of the importance of the *nation*, as the intermediate term between humanity and the individual, who, if left to his solitary effort, unsustained by the collective

force of the millions sharing the same language, customs, tendencies, and traditions, sinks from inability to do better, into egotism. And egotism is in fact the ultimate and disastrous result of the theories of the cosmopolists. The absurd and immoral *ubi bene ibi patria*, is the primary axiom of its founders. The idea of nationality arose at the opportune moment, to multiply the forces of the individual, and make known the means by which the labour and sacrifice of each man may be rendered efficacious and beneficial to humanity.

Without the nation there can be no humanity, even as without organisation and division there can be no expeditious and fruitful labour. Nations are the citizens of humanity, as individuals are the citizens of the nation. And as every individual lives a twofold life, inward and of relation, so do the nations. As every individual should strive to promote the power and prosperity of his nation through the exercise of his special function, so should every nation in performing its special mission, according to its special capacity, perform its part in the general work, and promote the progressive advance and prosperity of humanity.

Nationality and humanity are therefore equally sacred. To forget humanity is to suppress the *aim* of our labours; to cancel the nation is to suppress the instrument by which to achieve the aim.

The indisputable tendency of the epoch in course of initiation is towards a reconstitution of Europe, in accordance with the different national vocations, into a certain number of states, as nearly as possible equal in population and extent. These states, which have remained divided, hostile, and jealous of one another, so long as their national banner merely represented the interest of a dynasty or caste, will gradually become more and more intimately associated through the medium of democracy. The nations will be sisters. Free and independent in the choice of the means by which they reach the common aim, and in the organisation of their internal life, they will gradually unite in a common faith and common pact, in all that regards their international life. The Europe of the peoples will be One ; avoiding alike the anarchy of absolute independence and the centralisation of conquest.

VI.

And we who belong to the progressive party, who believe in the progressive life of humanity, are all agreed as to these things.

We are all agreed that progress is the Providential Law, given, with the capacity of its gradual fulfilment, by God to humanity. We are all agreed that association is the means of its fulfilment—that the harmonious development of all the moral intellectual and physical faculties of mankind is

the purpose of the law—we all believe that the people is the sole continuous interpreter of the law. We all declare the old authority for ever extinct. We do not admit that the government of humanity or of the nation may be entrusted to chance, privilege, or hereditary succession, in one or more individuals; we desire that the best amongst us in heart and intellect should be our guides upon our pilgrimage; we desire—in order to put an end to the antagonism between the governing and the governed—that our guides should be recognised and accepted as such by the universal voice. The republic is the logical form of democracy.

[Mazzini proceeds to show that the individual and society are equally sacred; sacred also the perpetual elements of human life and activity, the family, the fatherland, property, and religion; and sacred above all things—progress. History teaches us that all these elements of human life have been and will be gradually transformed, but not abolished; the family will become the sanctuary wherein citizens will be trained for the fatherland, even as the fatherland will train citizens for humanity. Property will be the sign of labour done, and will represent the individual in his relation to the material world. Religion, the supreme synthetic educational formula at a given epoch of the life of humanity, will form alike the impulse, sanction, and benediction of every social progress.]

At the present day—thanks to our governments—the *family* is too often a school of egotism, and *property* the sign of privilege or monopoly, while *religion* oscillates between paganism and hypocrisy.

VII.

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It is time that regular and constant relations should be established and directed from a single centre by men of tried energy, virtue, constancy, and faith, between the democracy of all parts of Europe and America, so as to form a link of union among all those who strive and suffer in the holy cause of liberty ; all who worship the same ideal ; all who accept our formula,—*One sole master, God ; one sole law, progress ; one sole interpreter of that law on earth, the people, with genius and virtue for its guides.*

Hitherto our democratic struggle has been a *guerrilla* war ; it is time to organise the *regular army*, and begin the war of masses. Democracy can never conquer and transform Europe until it be organised in the fashion of a state or government, so as to form a primitive nucleus of the Europe of the peoples, a collective manifestation of the general idea destined to rule the future.

It is not ours to build the temple, the Pantheon

of the faith we invoke. That temple will be erected by the peoples when the hour shall come ; but we may, and we ought, to found a Church of Precursors.

I have long caressed the idea of the formation of a vast association, composed of a given number of sections ; an association which, embracing all the various manifestations of human activity, should group and organise all the believers in a new era, and in those principles, sketched above, upon which they are already agreed, according to their different tendencies and capacity, so as to direct their labours upon a common general plan. A few men—rendered venerable by knowledge and virtue, intellect and love, and by sacrifices nobly endured for the sake of the common faith in different parts of Europe and America—would form the supreme Council of the association, and their utterances to the world would be collective and synthetic.

Others, more intimately related by community of origin with the ideas and tendencies of each separate people, would constitute a series of *national* councils, the president of each of which would, in order to secure the unity of the general conception, be a member of the supreme Council.

The supreme Council would declare the conception of the general mission of the peoples : the national councils would declare the special mission

of each nation. The first would represent the *principle* in virtue of which humanity is now seeking a new synthesis, and the essential terms of its future progress ; the second would represent the *application* of that principle among the various peoples, and the various means by which the nations may labour together in concord towards the realisation of the general aim.

Under the impulse and guidance given by such twofold direction, the labours of the members of the association would be organised, some in the sphere of knowledge (*scienza*), others in the practical sphere ; while the national councils would decide upon the titles of the various peoples to be admitted as equals in the great federation of the nations, and transmit to each the European idea. The supreme Council would trace the new map of Europe, promote the holy alliance of the oppressed against the oppressors, and, unrestrained by the limits of any absolute system, indicate the broad paths of progress, and direct the movements of the different peoples as the different divisions of a single army.

Then, as soon as the actual discouragements were overcome, and men's minds restored to confidence, the supreme Council would initiate the DEMOCRATIC TAX.

A portion of this tax, converted into an *institution of credit* for working people, would be expended upon the industrial establishments, both

agricultural and of manufacture, in such a manner as practically to exemplify the morality, methods, and results of association. Another portion would be used to promote a popular press and popular education, no longer limited to the great centres of population, but distributed according to the necessities of the various localities. The remainder would be allowed to accumulate, and be held as a sacred deposit, to be applied by the association to affording fraternal help to such peoples as should arise in assertion of their rights.

The union of thought and action, two essential aspects of the human unity which are now, with serious peril to the future, disjoined, would be reconstituted, as in all great epochs of humanity it has been, in new vigour; and the multitudes, who are at present more distrustful of the *thinkers* than is generally believed, would be restored to faith and confidence in an authority neither despotic nor arbitrary, but founded upon the union of love and works.

How much of this idea may ever be verified in the democratic camp, I know not. But I know that democracy ought to verify it as far as possible, or it must long continue to drag along the path of isolated effort, leading too often to martyrdom,—glorious no doubt and useful to humanity,—but not to victory. To pretend that the majority must come to an understanding upon the *whole*

programme of the future *before* acting, is to condemn ourselves to struggle against—I will not say long years of delay, for time is of little import in an enterprise like our own,—but against the impossibility of radically transforming men who are compelled to live and move in an atmosphere of egotism and corruption. We must first remove them from its mortal influence, and lead them into the fresh pure air beneath the heaven of God. We must awake them from their torpor by a sudden shock; rouse their hearts by the enthusiasm of battle; the excitement and concentration of all the faculties will kindle a jet of new and vigorous life, and the spirit of truth, which descends upon the assembled peoples, will render it fruitful.

We must act in short.

Action is to the multitudes a revelation. And in order to act to worthy purpose, since to arise without well-founded hope of success would be a grave error at the present day, we must unite.

Unite! The times are grave. The evil governments which weigh like an incubus upon the very souls of the nations, have made known their programme in Baden, Hungary, and Rome. It is : *alliance in order to oppress*. Let yours be : *alliance in order to emancipate*.

Publicly or secretly, according to the necessities of time and place, let us unite, learn to understand

each other, and prepare. On the day on which we are able to say like the early Christians : *In the name of God and the people we are one*, the modern Pagans will be impotent against us ; we shall have conquered the world. God will then reveal to us the path of the future.

FROM THE POPE TO THE COUNCIL.

PREFACE.

(Written in London, 1850.)

THE writings here reprinted bear upon the Religious Question: they contain the profound convictions of one who has ever believed and said that all the great questions which agitate the world resolve themselves into a religious question. Those who reflect how in all times of moral and intellectual crisis, the men who consult their inmost conscience, and, without regard to the powers and prejudices of the day, say aloud what they believe in their hearts, have always been calumniated, will not now be arrested by the abuse of a few journalists,—the old echo of a dying past,—who accuse the National Italian party of being unbelievers, atheists, and abettors of disorder for the love of disorder. They will read and judge for themselves. They will see, from the pages here reproduced, dating from 1832, that we have not waited for favourable circumstances, for the sympathy which the imprudence of our enemies has excited in our behalf, to express our thoughts, or to attack that which we thought it our duty to

attack. They will see also that we have not kept back one iota of our religious faith from those who are enlisted under the same political banner—that we have never sacrificed our conscience to the immediate aim of our efforts, or to the desire of increasing our ranks. They will comprehend that if our opinions be erroneous, they are at least earnest; and they will feel the necessity, the duty, of judging them seriously. In the silence to which Italy is condemned—a silence which she can only break by revolutions—these opinions have a collective importance; they are not only the barren thought of an individual; they are the echo of the thought which is now subterraneously fermenting in the Italian masses, and they have received their first consecration in Rome and in Venice.

When Young Italy raised her banner, now nearly twenty years ago, two elements predominated in Italy: superstition and materialism. Superstition was the habit of a part of the population, to whom all light, all education, was forbidden, led astray by a traditional religious sentiment conceived in the narrowest spirit,—of men who, deprived of every motive of action, of all consciousness of the true life of citizens, clung with a kind of despair to a heaven little understood. Materialism was the natural reaction of those who had been able to emancipate themselves from the abject spectacle

which religion offered, from the brutal yoke it sought to impose upon their intelligence. It was said to them, *Believe all that we affirm*: they replied by *denying* all. Luther compared the human mind to a drunken peasant upon horseback, who, leaning over on one side, falls on the other, when you seek to set him upright. Many peoples have passed through a similar experience. Young Italy rejected at once both materialism and superstition. It declared that in order to acquire the strength necessary to become a nation, Italy must emancipate herself not only from the old Catholic belief, but from the materialism of the eighteenth century. The first pretended a divine sanction to immobility; the second dried up the sources of faith, and logically tended to destroy the idea of duty, and to leave nothing for the object of human worship, but right and enjoyment. We wished to progress as the world progresses, according to the will of God, through the Life eternal. We did not wish to combat in order to obtain the satisfaction of certain appetites, *panem et circenses*, but for something more elevated; for the dignity, the sacred liberty of the human soul, its development in love. We sought to fulfil a mission upon earth for our own and for our brethren's good.

It is not my purpose to give here an exposition of the complete doctrines of Young Italy; but I hold it important to prove, that our language to-day

is the same as that of twenty years ago. We have never deviated from it. Now as then, my predominating idea, and the vital thought of all my labours, is this: a fatal separation has been established between religious and political belief, between heaven and earth; this is why we wander groping from one crisis to another, from convulsive movement to convulsive movement, without succeeding, without finding peace. It is necessary to reunite earth to heaven, politics to the eternal principles which should direct them; nothing great or durable can be done without this. GOD, Religion; THE PEOPLE, Liberty in Love; these two words, which as individuals we inscribed on our banner in 1831, and which afterwards—significant phenomenon—became the formula of all the decrees of Venice and of Rome, sum up all for which we have combated, all for which we will combat unto victory. The people of Italy instinctively comprehended this idea. Young Italy became rapidly powerful. A gradual transformation was effected in a portion of its enlightened youth; which became, I will not say the most devoted, but the most constant in devotion, to their country. Two or three years of struggle and suffering suffice to exhaust the strength when the inspiring sentiment is only one of reaction, of indignation against oppression: a

whole life is not too much for the realisation of an idea which seeks to reunite earth to heaven.

The party which in Italy has assumed the title of *Moderate*, came across our path. Imbued with a badly-disguised materialism, springing up in the shadow of courts which have no other faith than that of power at any price, this party has no *belief*, it has only *opinions*. Adopting and abandoning them with the same ease, it accommodates itself to everything in turn ; princes, republics, concessions, popular insurrections, truth and falsehood. It creates nothing ; it cannot create anything ; it seeks *force*, material force, and worships it wherever it is found, and whatever name it may bear. It has called itself *opportunist*. At the present time it is warring against the priests in Piedmont, in the service of royalty ; it would do the same thing to-morrow against the princes, in the name of the Pope, should the Pope recommence a career of concessions. In reality, the *Moderates* believe neither in the princes, nor in the Pope, nor in the people ; they believe in their own coterie, in their small conceptions, in their personal influence. They have neither a grand idea nor a great sentiment. They consequently follow, and do not initiate. When Charles Albert, whom they despised, manifested a weak ambition which appeared to them capable of serving their designs, they proclaimed him the first man of Italy. When

Pius IX., in whom as Pope they do not believe, put on a semblance of liberalism, they wrote volumes to prove that Papacy was to regenerate the whole world. And now, even since the affairs of Rome, they do not dream of saying to the Pope: *You are a falsehood—descend*; they venture only to combat his temporal authority, and, at the same time, hypocritically prostrate themselves before the spiritual authority of *the father of believers*. What can Italy or the world hope from such men, and from such a policy?

This policy has come to us from Machiavelli. But with Machiavelli it was not theory, but history. He lived in a period of ruin and dissolution; liberty had perished everywhere; the last spark was being extinguished in Florence; the Pope and the Emperor having at last coalesced, after a struggle which had endured for ages, had vowed to spread darkness over all Italy. Corruption had descended from the Courts to the middle ranks of society. Cramped by the iron hand of the foreigner, the national genius was gradually disappearing, and the efforts of the giant Michael Angelo and of his great contemporaries, appeared only likely to result in immobilising it in stone or on canvas, raising to it a magnificent monument, which might serve it for a tomb. Military valour was no longer the buckler of a free state. The chiefs of bands, without country, without faith, sold their courage,

talents, and soldiers to the highest bidder. Poor Machiavelli, after having endeavoured to struggle, after having in his own person, protested in prison and under torture, seated himself in sorrow upon this great ruin, and described, after the manner of an epitaph, the causes which had occasioned it. Using the scalpel of the anatomist upon the corpse, he made of his books a long report of his work of dissection. And now, these men would inscribe the device of death upon the cradle of a new life. After more than three centuries of that latent renovating transformation, which men call death or sleep, Italy is breaking the stone of her tomb, stirring in all her limbs, making of her winding-sheet a banner of insurrection ; and instead of bending the knee before this awakening nation, instead of crying to it, *In the name of God and the people, gird thyself for a supreme effort, and arise*, they come coldly and pedantically to read to it a chapter of Machiavelli. Oh ! had it at least been that one in which he says to his country, "*Thou wilt never again have life, except by unity ; and thou wilt never have unity, except by abolishing the Papacy.*"

But they dare not. They would steal, unperceived, some fragments of liberty, without teaching the people to comprehend them, or the reason of their right to them ; they wage a petty war, which will have a speedy end, against the priests, without daring to go to the source of the corruption

of the priests; without daring to say aloud: *Liberty is the right and the duty of the human soul*; he who pretends to enslave the conscience, MUST desire to enchain the body. Strange, that this is the party which in England, in this ancient land of liberty and of good sense, finds favour; whilst the popular party, the logical party, the openly and honestly emancipatory party is coldly received. A few vain good wishes, and a number of injurious suspicions, behold all the part that England has as yet taken in a question which is pregnant with the liberty of the world—the Italian question. The cause—I declare it frankly, and at once—is that the religious sentiment is expiring in England, and that, whilst the form remains intact, the foundation is being undermined and corrupted. The unity of the religious principle of the Reformation has disappeared. The divorce, of which I spoke above, between earth and heaven has been accomplished in England as elsewhere; and it is because this separation has taken place, that Catholicism temporarily gains ground upon Protestantism.

Let me explain my thought.

A mighty question is now being agitated in Europe, between two principles which have divided the world since its creation; and these two principles are liberty and authority.* The human

* It will be seen that the word authority is here used in a narrower sense than is usual with Mazzini. He simply means the

mind desires to progress according to its own light, not by favour of concession, but by virtue of the law of its own life. Authority says to it: *Rest where thou art: I alone strike the hour of the march; when I am silent everything should rest, for all progress which is accomplished without me and beyond me, is impious.* The human mind interrogates itself: it feels its own right and power; it finds that the germ of progress is in itself, that strength and right come to it from God, and not from an intermediate power coming between itself and God, as if charged to lead it. Hence springs revolt and resistance, and hence the anomalous situation of Europe. The conscience of the human race is struggling with tradition, which desires to enchain it; the future and the past dispute for the collective life of humanity, and for that of the individual. The man who in these struggles, ever stifled yet ever re-appearing,—in this series of manifestations and violent repressions which have constituted European history for two-thirds of a century,—sees only the action of some turbulent factions, or the result of some accidental or material causes, such as a deficit, a famine, a secret conspiracy or cabinet intrigue, understands nothing of the facts of history, nothing of the *laws*, of which, through those facts, *existing* religious authority, which he has always declared to be but the phantom of authority. See the article on Rome and the French Government at, p. 257.—(*Translator.*)

history becomes the expression. And he who in the great questions of the suffrage, of proletarian emancipation, and of nationality, sees nothing but the subjects of political discussion, having no connection with the religious idea, with the providential development of humanity, understands neither man nor God, and degrades to the proportions of a pigmy intellectual contest, that which is in fact a battle of giants, of which the stake is a step in advance in the universal education of mankind, or a step backward towards the world which we had believed to have ended with the middle ages.

Between the two great armies which sustain the combat, marauders and free corps have undoubtedly introduced themselves and falsified its character; between the two doctrines represented in the two camps, a multitude of exaggerations, of dangerous utopias, of false and immoral philosophies have come to throw trouble and alarm in men's minds.

It matters little. The real question remains as I have stated it. All these irregular Cossack-like movements will disappear, like the sharpshooters of an army, when the hour arrives for the masses to begin to move. It matters little also for what I now desire to say, whether the result of the struggle ought to be, as some imagine, the absolute abolition of the principle of authority and the pure and simple enthronement of liberty;

or, whether, as I believe, the future holds in reserve a great *collective* religious manifestation, in which the two terms, authority and liberty, tradition and individual conscience, will both be recognised as essential elements to the normal development of life, and united in one whole, become at once the safeguard of belief and of progress. What is certain is that transformation implies death, and that the new authority can never be founded until after the complete overthrow of that which now exists.

The destruction of authority, such as it now exists; the proclamation of human liberty, whether as a means or as the end,—this is the problem which Europe has now to solve. Right or wrong, the human mind believes that it sees a glimpse of new destinies, of a new heaven; and in order to prepare itself to realise them, it claims its independence; it desires to interrogate humanity upon what it believes, upon what it expects and hopes; it desires to pass under revision the laws of life, of its being;—old authority would forbid the attempt.

The question is a vital one; and one would have thought it impossible that there should exist a single people, or a single man, who did not feel the necessity of deciding between the two camps, and of giving to one or the other his name and his active adhesion. And nevertheless it is not so. The solidarity of all in support of the principle in

which they believe, is only understood on one side. And this side, with shame be it said, is that of old authority.

All the powers whose rallying cry is *Authority*, are allied for the defensive and for the offensive ; they fulfil amongst each other the duties of fraternity ; when one is attacked, the others fly to its aid ; in time of peace, an universal propaganda rallies the means of all. They have a plan, a combined action, and a visible symbol, the Pope. They do not believe in him ; but they feel the want of a common standard, and they support him. Schismatics, orthodox believers, materialists, all those who deny the liberty of the human conscience and its manifestation by acts, join hands around his throne.

It is not thus with the nations or individuals whose rallying cry is *Liberty*. They may recognise their brothers in the ideal sphere ; they fail to do so upon the field of reality. Each sustains, defends what he has been able to conquer of liberty for himself ; no one exerts himself for the triumph of the principle elsewhere. The life of God is only sacred to them so far as it is diffused in their own sphere ; beyond their own frontiers it becomes indifferent to them : they abandon it to chance, they deliver it over to the enemy. No protection is afforded to the peoples who are tortured and destroyed, no hindrance is offered to the hostile

forces which stifle life in its cradle, or prevent the truth from manifesting itself. To the cry of *Authority every where and for all*, they oppose that of *Liberty for those who possess it*. To the insolent audacious intervention exercised by the other camp, they reply : *Neutrality, non-intervention*,—not for all, for they do nothing to prevent the intervention of others,—but for themselves. Austria and France intervene in Italy ; Prussia in the states of Germany, Russia in Hungary. England, the United States, Switzerland, fold their arms, and tacitly aid the triumph, which they believe to be iniquitous, of old authority over liberty. Like Pilate, they wash their hands of the blood of the just—they would reply to God with the answer of Cain, *Am I my brother's keeper ?*

A people, the Italian people, rises up. It goes straight to the heart of the question, to the palladium of the enemy's camp. It proposes to cut the knot, to emancipate the world, to end the struggle for all by a single blow. Authority has its seat, its source, its radiating centre at Rome. Authority pretends that it lives in the love of all, that it is sanctified by universal consent, that a factious minority is all that opposes it. Italy proves indisputably the reverse. It interrogates publicly, peacefully, the wishes of men in the very place where authority has always reigned without opposition, where it has been able to seduce, mis-

lead, and corrupt at its pleasure. An unanimous voice replies : *The authority which governs us is a falsehood ; it is not worthy to guide us, the Pope is no longer our head ; we appeal to God, to liberty, and to our conscience.* The royalty of the Pope, all that could be abolished by *decree*, is abolished. The Pope flees.

A banner bearing these principle-involving and eternal words, *God and the people*, floats above the Vatican. Not a man raises his hand to protest in favour of the Pope ; not a man bends the knee before the bulls of excommunication hurled from Gaeta. And to this demonstration, for the benefit of the world's cause, on the part of a people which has always served this cause, how has Protestantism replied ? How has England replied ? What has been done to save this people, when, in defiance of all right, and without the smallest provocation, four governments leagued together to crush it, and sent their armies to tear down by brute force the sacred banner of liberty of conscience ?

There exists great agitation at the present moment in Protestant England on account of the attempted encroachments of Catholicism. Think you that these attempts would have taken place if the people's banner were still floating at Rome ? Think you that the Pope would have sent his Catholic hierarchy from Gaeta ?

Papacy excluded from Rome, is, it is well

known, Papacy excluded from Italy. Papacy excluded from Italy, is Papacy excluded from Europe. Place the Pope at Lyons or Seville—he will no longer be Pope, he will only be a dethroned king.

Protestantism has not understood this : there is so little remaining of the deep conviction, so little of the enthusiasm which produced the Reformation, that with regard to the great question in dispute at Rome, it assumed an attitude of scepticism, it contented itself by asking whether such or such a man governing in that city belonged to one political school or another, whether he was a partizan of a system of terror or of justice ; it entered into a polemic with respect to individuals ; the *work*, the providential work, which was being accomplished there by instruments destined, whatever might be their character, to disappear the day after, completely escaped its notice. And when Austrians, Neapolitans, and Frenchmen marched against Rome it could not summon up sufficient energy to say : *Hold ; a question of religious faith is there at issue, and we will not allow it to be decided by brute force.* And yet we gave it sufficient time to pronounce this prohibition.

Protestantism has thus given to the world, I repeat it, a striking demonstration of want of power, of decay. It will expiate it bitterly, if it does not hasten to repair the mistake it has committed.

Faith begets faith. You cannot expect that

men should believe in yours, when they see that it does not furnish you with the consciousness of a right, or the feeling of a duty to fulfil. You have looked on with indifference whilst the liberty of the human soul was being crushed beyond your gates: you will be thought little worthy of defending it within.

Faith is also wanting to the Pope; but he has something which replaces it in the eyes of the world: he has the audacity, the obstinacy, and the unscrupulous logic of his false principle. He attacks; you fortify yourselves for defence: he advances ever, with the continuous motion of the serpent; you move by fits and starts under the impulse of fear: he says, *Servitude for all*; you say, *Liberty for us alone*. You will not have it; or rather, you already have it not. You are slaves, in the slavery of your brethren. Hence it is that your contracted inspiration no longer fecundates the souls of men. There is no religion without faith in the solidarity of the human race.

I have here said what is to me the touch-stone of every faith. When any one says to me: *Behold a good man*, I ask, *How many souls has he saved?* when any one says to me: *Behold a religious people*, I inquire what it has *done* and *suffered* to bring humanity to its belief.

It is to *man*, and not to a certain number of *men*, that God has given life, the sun, the fruits of

the earth, his law, and the capability of comprehending and of obeying it. It was for *all* men that Jesus died upon the Cross. And you who honour the name of God and murmur unceasingly the name of Christ, what have you given, what do you give for all men? For whom do you die, for whom do you dare martyrdom? By what acts do you render testimony to the unity of the human race, of which you are only a member. What work of education do you accomplish upon earth? You found establishments for the sale of bibles, you smuggle the divine word across forbidden frontiers; but know you not that the foundation, the commencement of all education is liberty? Have you so completely lost the spirit, are you so blind to all but the dead letter of the law, as not to know that it is to man that God allotted the gift of understanding and of interpreting his will, and that the slave is not a man, but the form, the material part of man alone?

And here recurs to me the idea which I expressed above upon the unholy divorce which has taken place between earth and heaven. This divorce is one of the characteristics of the existing Protestant agitation, and it stamps upon it another marked inferiority as compared with the Catholic propaganda.

Man is one: created in the image of God, he thinks and acts. Thought, Action, and that which

causes him to translate his Thought in action, Love: behold his Trinity, the reflection of that mysterious Trinity which lives in God. He who has not the conception or feeling of this Unity—he who would destroy it by dividing faith from works, *thought* from *action*, the moral from the practical or the political man, is not truly religious, He would break the chain which attaches earth to heaven.

Earth and heaven are for me, the lowest and the highest steps of the ladder of human progress. Man is placed upon earth not to vegetate, not to expiate, not to contemplate; but to progress; to walk in the path of life according to the *Law* of which God has placed the germ in his heart; to accomplish his own education, and that of others, according to the providential design; to manifest, to practise his belief. The amount and the endurance of this manifestation are the measure of his responsibility fulfilled, of which liberty is the *sine qua non*. Thought completes itself in action; faith in works. God thinks only in working. With us weak beings this identification of thought and action can only be obtained step by step, through labour, suffering, and self-sacrifice. But this is the aim of our earthly life; and it is *faith* which gives us strength to attain it. I can conceive religion in no other manner. It teaches us to do the will of God on earth, as it is done in

heaven. It is supreme. It gives the law, the principles which political action ought to realise.

This unity of man has been felt by the Pope ; and, therefore, he evinces that antagonism, of which the following pages upon the Encyclica will be found to speak ; the very foundation of his doctrine implies it. Pope and King are indissolubly connected : the one completes and defends the other.

The Pope says : "*Be subservient to my word in all that concerns the things of heaven.*" The King says : "*Be subservient to my word in all that concerns the things of earth.*" They make use by turns of excommunication and bombardment, of the priest and of the executioner.

The Protestantism of to-day denies human unity, the link between earth and heaven. It pretends to emancipate thought, while leaving action submissive and enslaved. It would join conscience and servitude, slavery and liberty. No possible success can await on its propaganda.

I have read the writings of the men who protest against the encroachments of Catholic Rome ; I have hearkened to the speeches uttered by them in their meetings. I have not met with a single expression of sympathy for the Rome of the People and for Liberty ; not a single prayer for the emancipation of Italy from the chains which forbid her all movement, all spiritual education. We have nothing to do, they say, with political ques-

tions. Is it then by leaving man in the hands of his oppressors that you would elevate and emancipate his soul? Is it by leaving erect the Idol of blind Force, in the service of Imposture, that you think to raise in the human soul an altar to the God of a free conscience? Moses broke the idols to pieces; he knew well that so long as the idols existed there would always be idolaters.

Every so-called religious agitation against Papacy will be vain, which does not take in hand the Italian political question. While the Pope possesses Italy, he will have a footing in every part of Europe. It is the Italian nation alone that can annihilate Papacy. Would you introduce the light and air of heaven within our prison? Help us to break open its gates, to throw down its walls; and the air and the light of God will pour in to invigorate, and enlighten us. Help us to reconquer liberty of speech; you will find that our first word will be *Liberty of conscience*. Petition your government, not to arrest the progress of Catholicism amongst yourselves—how can it attempt to do so?—but, remembering for once at least that England also has rights and duties in Europe, to put a stop to the prolonged scandal of a foreign occupation of Rome: and be sure that twenty-four hours after our deliverance, the Pope shall flee towards Gaeta and soon much farther than Gaeta.

All agitation which does not make this its ob-

will be vain ; not only because Italy bound, and with the sword of the oppressor at her throat, cannot make any response or derive advantage from the fraction of truth which therein contained, before she has broken her sword ; but also because it is immoral ; because it fails to recognise the unity of man ; because it violates the sacred duty of rendering assistance to the victim of assassination ; and because it implies, I believe, a secret compromise between our religious belief and political prejudices which it is feared to alarm.

We have sometimes been asked, if, when once emancipated, we should proclaim ourselves Protestants. It is not for individuals to reply. The country, free to interrogate itself, will follow the inspirations that God will send it. Religion is not a matter of contract ; and those who address such a question to us, can have but little faith in that which they profess to believe to be the truth. For myself, I would not bargain even for the liberty of my country, by profaning my soul with falsehood. But this, with my hand upon my heart, I can answer to them :—

Catholicism is dead. Religion is eternal. It will be the soul, the thought of the new World. Every man has in his own heart an altar, upon which, if he invoke it in earnestness, purity, and love, the spirit of God will descend. Conscience

is sacred ; it is free. But truth is one, and ~~is of~~ may anticipate the time, when, from the ~~anc-~~conscience of enlightened men, beneath the ~~dol~~ of of God, shall be given forth a religious ~~Halt~~ you more mighty, more potent in love and life to the any to which Humanity has yet lent ear. . idols

But in order that the death of Catholicism idols be revealed to men, the air must circulate and reach, in order to destroy, the corpse, ~~ainst~~ stands as yet erect. In order that man ~~mhand~~ voke in earnestness, purity and love, the spir ~~Pope~~ truth of God, he must be emancipated fr ~~every~~ state which teaches him immorality, egot. at hatred, and mistrust. And in order that truth, may triumph over error, it must be free to proclaim itself in the full light of day. This consummation we can offer in exchange for the support which we demand.

FROM THE POPE TO THE COUNCIL.

(From the Italian del Popolo of September 1849.)

THE pages here subjoined were written by me, at the request of an editor, and almost at the stroke of a pen, as far back as 1832. Prefixed to a few copies of a translation of Didier's work upon the Three Principles—they had little or no publicity. This, however, is not my reason for

reprinting them. The reason is to be found in their date. Profoundly convinced that the religious question imperiously demands a solution; convinced that Papacy having abused its mission, which was already exhausted, for some four centuries, is now a corrupt institution and a mere mockery of religion; convinced, that having lost its own faith and that of others, lost all inspiration, all understanding or love of humanity, all power of infusing life in the coming generations, demanding the food of the soul,—Papacy reduced to a state of negation can produce nothing henceforth but materialism, a condition of society which it can dominate to tyranny, and the degrading worship of the mere interests of religious *trade*; convinced that the day has arrived for every honest man to break the guilty silence, and to declare to it, as his conscience dictates, *Thou art a lie condemned by God and men: begone: we worship not phantoms*;—I am glad to be able to say to myself and to my readers, that my convictions date from seventeen years ago. Late events have confirmed, they did not inspire them. I know not what it is to be animated by revenge or reaction. Those men who, themselves deprived of all faith, cannot believe in that of others, the men who accused Lamennais of having abandoned the Papacy because a cardinal's hat had not been offered him, will say to me; Your war against

Papacy is an answer to the defeat of Rome. I therefore point out, not to them, but to those who might be deceived by them, my opinions in 1832. Those opinions, conceived in the death-like repose of an exile imposed by a Prince and not by the Pope, might err through audacity but not through anger. Even when I saw the bombs furrow the sky of Rome, and foreign soldiers, as in the middle ages, assault her walls, hewing down her valiant sons in the name of an institution in which they did not believe, I did not feel anger, but the deepest pity and grief; pity for Pius, who, not naturally bad, but misled by wicked men and by the pride of princely dominion, will die with remorse in his soul; grief that the papacy should not be able or willing to sink solemnly, like the sun in the immensity of the ocean, conscious of the religious transformation which Providence is maturing for humanity, and itself transmitting the connecting link and the initiating word to believers. But it seems to be decreed that great institutions at the expiration of the period of life allotted to them, should be extinguished in mire or in blood.

It is over seventeen years since I wrote :

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“ Italy, setting aside the great and important spectacle of a people aspiring to regain its unity,

independence, and liberty, presents at the present time a phenomenon that merits the attention of the peoples, and of all those who watch with attention the progress of humanity. In the midst of all the attempts at insurrection which spring up and expire to be reproduced the day after, in the midst of that universal ferment which extends from the Alps to the Pharo, like a boiling spring, whose source is in the Roman soil,—a great fact, an European fact, is being accomplished. There is something more in this land than an oppressed and excited population; something more than a multitude desirous of the amelioration of its material condition; something more than a few communes insisting upon their franchise. There is the development of a moral revolution, the manifestation of a moral law, the proclamation of a principle of moral liberty. There is the human race at the gates of Rome, imperiously demanding its franchise.

“PAPACY IS EXPIRING.—PAPACY IS EXTINCT.”

“The moral power of the Papacy has long been dead in Europe. Luther destroyed it by withdrawing from it the north. It sufficed for a single city to deny that power, and to be able to hold out in its denial, to inflict upon it a mortal wound, and to show that Papacy had fulfilled its mission

upon earth, and no longer corresponded to the wants and intellectual condition of humanity.

“From the time when the authority of the hand that once ruled *urbi et orbi*, was disputed by one third of Europe, the death-struggle of Papacy commenced. Papacy is a religion, and the necessary characteristic of religious unity is universality. From that time forward the power of catholicism waned. Every Pope, upon ascending the throne, found the extent of his dominion diminished. It was like a territory the shores of which are insensibly consumed by the ocean; a flower which every breath of wind despoils. As if impelled by some powerful hand—by the hand of progressive civilisation—princes, peoples, philosophers, sectarians, voluntarily or involuntarily conspired to overthrow the colossus whose head was in the clouds, and whose feet were of clay. To throw off the yoke of Rome was towards the middle of the eighteenth century, the predominant idea of Italian and foreign governments. They considered themselves great and strong every time that they had resisted, and triumphed over the pretensions of Rome.

“Naples refused her tribute, violated her commands, and commissioned writers to dispute the papal rights; and if afterwards the Neapolitan government allowed the men on whom it had imposed this office, to be persecuted by priests and

inquisitors, it was but the habit of tyranny, which avails itself of the instrument, and then destroys it; but the fruits remained. Joseph II. in Germany, and Leopold in Italy, assailed Papacy with the energy of reform. The priest Ricci, and the synod of Pistoia, encouraged the emancipation. The Jansenists spread themselves everywhere, and endeavoured to recall the ancient religious severity of primitive Christianity. Voltaire published a crusade against Catholic Rome, and supported it, if not with profundity of thought and historical philosophy, yet with an activity and variety of weapons truly prodigious. Then the torrent broke forth; the revolutionary lava which swept the entire past from its throne. Then Napoleon, imprisoning the Pope, dragging him to Paris, threatening him, and obliging him to compromise *politically* with him, completed the disgrace and abasement of Papacy. Afterwards, the giant having fallen, and the political inertia allowing a return to the peaceful studies of philosophy, the spiritual and eclectic schools arose: schools which, without denying the religious sentiment, ceased to recognize Papacy as an essential element thereto.

“ In the entire Catholic world, De Maistre alone remained to the Pope: De Maistre, who made him the victim of a system logically deduced, joining with him the absolute king and the executioner; catholicism, despotism, and capital

punishment being, according to De Maistre, the three bases of Society; the three elements, in fact, of the old world, which the new one was destroying. To-day catholicism is extinct. It is necessary to repeat it, to repeat it to all, in order that they may direct their efforts to found a new unity.

“Humanity has made a step in advance, and is seeking a new symbol. Attempts at new religions, ridiculous in themselves, yet show that a void has been created. The few who have arisen to uphold the Catholic banner, endeavouring to associate it with a liberty of their own, betray their utter powerlessness to support it alone: every religion has had apostles, when it was dying; but their lamentations are over a corpse. They deceived, and still deceive themselves as to the number of their followers, because some, seeing victory secure, turn back to examine this symbol; and they do not perceive that it is a poetical feeling towards a grand ruin, not a return of faith, which once extinguished is never renewed. The *Avenir* has ceased to appear: Lamennais, a man who perhaps would have been a Calvin, had he found Catholicism rooted and secure, is in Rome to behold the idol overthrown and to free himself from an illusion; the *European Review* languishes; Châteaubriand is mute, and will remain so. Papacy is extinct; a worn-out form, preserved

yet a little while for the veneration of the lovers of anti'quity. The Pope, not being able to convince, puts to death. He protects his inviolability by armed ruffians. He defends the vicarship of Christ with Swiss and Austrian bayonets. No other roof now remains to him but the cupola of St. Peter ; and one day or other the banner of liberty waving from the temple shall drive him even from that asylum. Rash futile excommunications alone remain to him—old arms, worn out for three ages ; and he casts them about at random, like weapons abandoned by a flying man.

“The destruction of the Papacy was inevitable in the destinies of humanity, and reveals the action of a social element hitherto neglected, and which threatens to avenge itself, the popular element. Papacy was formerly a power, because it supported itself upon the people. It alone constituted a visible centre of association. It recognized, to a certain degree, the principle of capacity, excluding in the earlier times the aristocracy, opening the way to the man of the people, to the serf, to arrive at ecclesiastical dignity. It waged war against feudalism ; war against princely power : it opposed to the sceptre, the altar. Therefore the people in Italy were principally Guelph, while in the rest of Europe they adhered to the throne, where the kings warred against the predominance of the seignorial element. After the death of Julius II.,

the last great Pope, when the pontiffs perceived that the people began to feel itself powerful, and to look for the revealer of its destinies elsewhere than in the Vatican, they leagued themselves with the kings. This unequal alliance, contracted between the Guelph and Ghibelline principles, sworn enemies for ages, is the most convincing proof of the fall of papacy. But, even before this the destroying worm had already invaded the idol; the Papacy introduced the germ of its own destruction, when it assumed and enlarged its temporal dominion. It is necessary for religions to hold themselves supreme in an intellectual and moral sphere. Contact with facts and material phenomena destroys them; taking away their prestige, and bringing before the multitude the metaphysical principle which shapes them, applied to the thousand cases which admit or call for examination. At the present time, the people is neither Guelph nor Ghibelline, but stands aloof, distrustful of both parties; abhorring the one, abhorring and despising the other; invoking the Moses who shall disclose to them the promised land.

“And yet, Papacy still stands erect; although worn out and undermined on all sides, it stands erect, a pretext for the machinations of absolutist governments; a visible centre alike for cunning and incapability; a loathsome symbol; but still keeping

the field, and disputing the ground from those who would lay there the foundations of another temple. While the idol stands, its shadow will continue to cast darkness around ; priests, jesuits, and fanatics will shelter themselves beneath its shade to disturb the world ; while it stands, discord will exist between moral and material society, between right and fact, between the present and the imminent future. And the Papacy will stand until new-born Italy shall overthrow the throne on which it is upheld. In Italy, then, is the solution of the European question. To Italy belongs the high office of proclaiming the general emancipation, solemn and accomplished. And Italy will fulfil the duty entrusted to her by civilisation. Then will the peoples hasten to gather round another principle. Then will the south of Europe be placed in equilibrium with the north.

“Awakened Italy shall enter into the European family. How solemn her resurrection ! Twice has she awakened, since the fall of pagan Rome closed up the way of ancient civilisation, and she became the cradle of the new. The first time a Word went forth from Italy, which substituted an European spiritual unity for the triumph of material force. The second time she diffused over the world the example of civilisation in arts and literature. The third time her mighty hand will destroy the symbol of the middle ages and

will substitute *social* unity for the old *spiritual* unity. *From Rome alone can the Word of modern unity go forth, because from Rome alone can come the absolute destruction of the ancient unity.* But—because catholic unity is extinct, because Papacy has done its work, making of itself a mere prince and the servant of princes in an epoch fatal to princes, we must not conclude that religion is extinct, and that henceforward political theories only are to rule humanity. Political theories have now more than ever need of a religious sanction. Without this they must be always uncertain, deprived of all secure foundation, or firm support. The general will is a fitting foundation for governments ; but where the general principles which regulate the moral world are not evidenced in their acts, where they are not reduced to maxims, to recognized laws, there will never be a general will. The*discovery of these principles and the deduction of their inviolability, by proving them of origin superior to the power of the individual, is precisely the task of present civilisation. And to this end should the efforts of all minds desirous of establishing the social edifice upon a solid foundation, be directed.

“Religion is eternal. Religion, superior to philosophy,—is the bond that unites men in the communion of a recognized generating Principle, and in the consciousness of a common tendency

and mission ; it is the *Word* which shall raise the standard of Humanity in the midst of the nations of the earth.

“ Religion is *Humanity*.

“ Men have need of unity. Without unity progress is impossible. There may be movement, but it will not be uniform or concentrated. There will be first disorder ; then opposition ; finally anarchy.

“ Men cannot remain in a state of anarchy. When they are left to it, when the directing minds do not hasten to extinguish it by the revelation of moral Principles, scepticism, materialism, and indifference to every thing superior to the individual are introduced into the struggle. Amongst us, the Catholic faith being shaken by the progress of intelligence, and the shafts of ridicule, men turned anxiously to any reforms, any doctrines that promised to substitute a new order of things for the one destroyed. Unfortunately, tyranny, remaining the master, forbade reforms ; forbade that new ways should be opened to the people, to gather round something positive and secure. It followed, then, that men’s minds being unsettled, failing to perceive the new Word, and having lost the old, either took refuge again in superstition or adopted materialism ; and at the present time, there is, consequently, a want of harmony between the masses and the educated classes of the nation ;

there is mistrust on one side, indifference upon the other. There is indifference, because materialism is not a belief. It has no faith, no consciousness of something higher; it recognizes no mission—lives in itself, by itself, with itself—looks at facts, and neglects principles—and remains a cold and calculating doctrine of individualism. With such a doctrine great peoples are not created, because great peoples are those who represent and develop an *idea* in humanity; and materialism does not produce, but rather excludes every *general idea*, making *self-interest* a law for every thing; self-interest, a doctrine ever variable, differing in every individual, according to years, circumstances, the accidents of climate, and other physical causes. The consequences of this state of things in Italy are evident to all.

“There is no movement in literature, in the sciences, in the arts, in philosophy, in law. There is no political movement, save of a reactionary nature.

“In literature, men well known for the servility of their political doctrines, preach liberty of the mind, independence from rules, the emancipation of poetic genius; claiming for themselves the right of conducting the intellect through the ruins of the middle ages, or the ravings of mysticism; whilst men loving liberty and the progressive development of civil government, refuse the same

progressive development to literature, restricting it within certain codes, as antiquated as Papacy, without perceiving that the human intellect cannot divide itself in two halves, and advance with one-half whilst it stands still with the other. History has become a collection of facts, and nothing more ; an embellishment, often a burden to the memory ; neither a revealer of wisdom, nor a guide to the future ; because where you do not put forward prominently facts of a certain order, where you do not relate them in a manner which reveals an idea, where you do not deduce from them a moral law, what can one fact teach you to-day which another may not falsify to-morrow ? What other tendency can history give you, if not that most fatal tendency to doubt ? Philosophy does not exist among us. We have some observations on facts ; some researches concerning the manner by which certain physiological phenomena are produced, but there is no science of *causes*—there are no primary laws of the intellect. Political movement exists, because where tyranny reaches its utmost limit, it necessarily moves the minds of men to hatred and to vengeance, if to nothing else. But enduring constancy in sacrifice, faith in the future and in ourselves, and above all unity of symbol, certainty of the same aim, the science of means, and unwearied propagandism do not exist among us, or are very rare. There is indignation, grief,

individual courage ; but there is discouragement, division, suspicion, mistrust of everything and of everybody.

“ It is of the most urgent importance to withdraw men’s minds from such a state—and for this there is no hope but in a powerful unity—in one faith—one bond—one common hope.

“ Do you desire to give life and movement to literature, to the arts, and to science ? Harmonize them together : point out the intimate connection which runs through all, and give to all a common aim.

“ Do you desire that intellect should advance ?—Direct it towards the same aim : do not enchain one of its faculties whilst you emancipate another. Inspire it with a grand conception which will render it fruitful, give it a direction, and trust it to itself.

“ Do you desire that your citizens should become free ? Begin by giving them a lofty sense of their own dignity, of their own inviolability, of their own power. Do not lower the conception of liberty to them, but raise them to it : convert it into a mission, and create them its apostles : say to them that there is a moral law superior to them, which binds them all, in one bond, to the execution of a great design ; to the sacrifice, if necessary, of the individual to society.

“ Find, in short, a unity—and prefix it to reform, and to all the efforts towards it. Present your-

selves to the nation with a table of duties and of rights.

“Proclaim, in words that the multitudes will understand, the moral *principles* which should preside over their regeneration.

“Religion is the sanction of those rights, of those duties, of those *principles*.

“Papacy is extinct; but Religion is eternal: Papacy is only a form, a form now antiquated, worn out by the *idea* that has undergone a development, and which seeks to manifest itself.

“Catholicism is extinct; but you who watch over its bier, remember that Catholicism is only a sect, an erroneous application, the *materialism* of Christianity. Remember that Christianity is a revelation and a statement of *principles*, of certain relations of man with that which is beyond himself, which were unknown to Paganism. Remember that those principles are the same that are inscribed upon the banner of all lovers of liberty. Remember that religions are not changed by men, but by time, progress, and the manifestation of some new principle; and that whosoever attempts to substitute himself for the age and for those causes, is guilty of a foolish and fatal mistake. Remember in short, that a religious principle has always presided over two-thirds of the revolutions of single peoples, and all the great revolutions of humanity; and that to desire to abolish it where

you have no other to substitute, where there is neither education, nor any profound conviction of general duties, nor a uniform conscience, nor the habit of high social virtue, is the same thing as to create a void, to open an abyss, which you yourselves will perhaps be the first to fill.

“Perhaps in religion as in politics, the age of the *symbol* is passing away, and a solemn manifestation may be approaching of the Idea as yet hidden in that symbol. Perhaps the discovery of a new relation—that of the individual to humanity—may lay the foundation of a new religious bond; as the relation of the individual with nature was the soul of paganism; as the relation of the individual with God has been the soul of Christianity. But whatever may be in store for the future, whatever new revelation of our destinies awaits us, it behoves us meanwhile not to forget that Christianity was the first to put forward the word *equality*, parent of liberty—that it was the first to deduce the rights of man from the inviolability of his human nature—that it was the first to open a path to the relationship of the *individual* with *humanity*, containing in its doctrine of human *brotherhood* the germ of a principle, of a law of *association*.”

To these thoughts written in 1832, succeeding years, and especially the two last, have given a solemn confirmation. A Pope arose, whose good disposition, progressive instincts, and love of popularity, rendered him an exception to the Popes of later times, and Providence, as if to teach mankind the absolute powerlessness of the institution, disclosed to him in the love and in the illusions of the people, the path to a new life. So great is the fascination exercised by great memories, so great the power of ancient customs, so eager the desire for Authority as the guide and sanction of their progress, in these multitudes who are said to be agitated by the spirit of anarchy,—that a word of pardon and tolerance from the Pope's lips sufficed to gather round him, in an enthusiasm and intoxication of affection, friends and enemies, believers and unbelievers, the ignorant and the men of thought. One long cry, the cry of millions ready to rush to martyrdom or victory at his nod, saluted him as their father and benefactor, the regenerator of the Catholic faith and of humanity. The experience of three ages, and the inexorable logic of ideas, were at once forgotten; writers whose intellect and opinions alike had rendered them influential until then as adversaries, now employed themselves in founding around that *One* man systems destined to prepare for him the way to a splendid initiative. Many advocates

of liberty of conscience, whom the spectacle of anarchy displayed by the Protestant sects had always disturbed, now began to doubt. The few believers in the future church remained silent and thoughtful. Could it be that history had decided too rashly? Could it be amongst the secrets of Providence that an institution which for ten centuries at least had given life and movement to Europe, should rise again, reconciled with the life and progress of humanity, from its own tomb? Throughout the whole civilized world, men's minds troubled and excited, awaited the *word* which was to issue from the Vatican.

And where now is Pius IX.?

In the camp of the enemy: irrevocably disjoined from the progressive destinies of humanity; irrevocably adverse to the desires—to the aspirations which agitate his people and the people of believers. The experiment is complete. The gulf between Papacy and the world is open. No earthly power can close it up.

Impelled by the impulses of his heart to seek for popularity and affection, but drawn on by the all-powerful logic of the principle he represents to the severity of absolute dictatorship; seduced by the universal movement of men's minds, by living examples in other countries, and by the spirit of the age, to feel, to understand the sacred words of

progress, of people, of free brotherhood, but incapable of making himself their interpreter ; fearful of the consequences, and trembling lest the people, raised to a new consciousness of its own faculties and of its own rights, should question the authority of the pontificate—Pius IX., vacillated contemptibly between the two paths presented to him, muttered words of emancipation, which he neither intended nor knew how to realise, and promises of country and independence to Italy, which his followers betrayed by conspiring with Austria. Then, struck with sudden terror, he fled before the multitudes who cried aloud to him *courage* ; he sheltered himself under the protection of a Prince the executioner of his own subjects ; he imbibed his tendencies, and in order to revenge himself for the quiet with which Rome, urged in vain to a civil war, was organising a new government—he solicited foreign aid, and he, who from a horror of bloodshed had shortly before endeavoured to withdraw Roman assistance from the Lombard struggle, agreed that French, Austrian, Neapolitan, and Spanish bayonets should rebuild his throne. Now lost amid the fallacies of secret protocols, the servant of his protectors, the servant of all except of duty and of the desires of those who hoped in him ;—he wanders near the frontiers of Rome without attempting to re-enter the city, as if kept back by the phantoms of the slain. The Louis

XVI. of Papacy, he has destroyed it for ever. The cannon-ball discharged by his allies against the Vatican, gave the last blow to the institution.

Whilst these things were happening, a Prince was pursuing a similar course in the north of our peninsula, accompanied by the same hopes, the same illusions and delusions of the peoples. He was saluted by the title of the *Sword of Italy*. The noblest spirits from all parts pointed out to him Austria and the Alps, and suspended, in order to make the last trial of monarchy, the propagandism of their most cherished ideas. He was preceded by the encouragement of all Europe, and followed by a numerous and valiant army. Where died Charles Albert?

Thus has providence shown to our people, desirous of the right, but lukewarm in faith and too credulous in the illusions of the old world, the powerlessness of monarchy to ensure the safety of Italy, and the irreconcilability of Papacy with the free progress of humanity. The dualism of the middle ages is henceforward a mere form without life or soul: the Guelph and Ghibelline insignia are now the insignia of the tomb. Neither Pope, nor King! God and the people only shall henceforth disclose to us the regions of the future.

The Spirit of God descends now upon the multitudes: individuals privileged in intellect and heart collect, eliminate, and express the results of

popular inspiration—hence their power of initiation—but they do not create or destroy. For the dogma of absolute immutable authority concentrated in an individual, or in an immutable Power, is being substituted that of the progressive authority of the People, the collective and lasting interpreter of the law of God.

This principle, accepted by the people as the highest power in the sphere of political life, under the name of CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, will have its inevitable application in the sphere of religious life. This application will be named the COUNCIL.

Life is One. You cannot arrange its different manifestations so that they can remain independent, or find contradictory expression, without introducing anarchy. You cannot say to the people, *thou art half free and half enslaved ; social life is thine, but religious life belongs to others*. You cannot dismember the soul. Liberty is the gift of God, who rules over, blesses, and renders fruitful *all* the faculties of man, his creature.

And the Pope knows it ; he knows he can only reign in Rome as a despot. The political concessions that he may make will be *de facto* only not *de jure* ; and his creatures will withdraw them the day after. Who thinks differently deceives himself. Governments often hasten their fate by suicide ; but never consciously.

And we know it well. Upon Pope and upon King, by the slow but inevitable providential education of the human race, and in the name of the inviolability of mind, weighs an equal condemnation.

The question between the temporal and spiritual power is misunderstood by many ; and it is important to reduce it to its true signification. To regard it as anything more than a protest against the principle of absolute authority represented by the Pope—to seek to furnish through it a *positive* organic foundation to society—would tend to withdraw the earth and man from religion.

Religion and politics are inseparable. Without religion political science can only create despotism or anarchy. We seek neither the one nor the other. For us, life is an educational problem, society the medium of developing it, and of reducing it to action. Religion is the highest educational principle ; politics are the application of that principle to the various manifestations of human existence. The *ideal* remains in God : society should be so arranged as to approach to it as nearly as is possible upon earth. Worshipers all of God : we should seek to conform our acts to his law. Thought is the *spirit* ; its translation into action, into visible external works, is the *social fact*. To pretend then to separate entirely and for ever, earthly things from those of heaven, the

temporal from the spiritual, is neither moral, logical, nor possible. But when the Power representing a religious principle no longer possesses or inspires faith—when, through ages of error, and through the progress of the people, all vital communion has ceased between that power and humanity—when it no longer possesses any *initiative*, but only the strength of *resistance*, the first form assumed by dissent is that of protest and separation. Society, before decreeing the final condemnation of that power, and of the principle upon which it is supported, separates it from its own movement, isolating it in a sphere of inaction, where opinion can judge it fearlessly and dispassionately. Then is raised the cry for the separation of the temporal from the spiritual; and that cry, for those who understand the secret instincts of the people, means :—

“Your mission is fulfilled; withdraw. Our life, our progress, spring no longer from you. The principle which you represent is not ours. We no longer believe in you. In our hearts a purer, larger, and more efficacious religious conception is fermenting, which is not yours. And since you either will not or cannot accept it, remain alone. A solemn memorial of the past which will never return, you are now naught but an idol, a form without life or soul. God and religion remain with us; with us who feel ourselves

better than you, and more capable of guiding ourselves through the paths of our earthly country, which should be for us a step towards heaven, a field for exertion in the mission of the fraternal education of humanity."

And when,—conscious or unconscious of its own mission,—the Roman Assembly raising in front of the Vatican the symbol of popular majesty, and inscribing thereon the new formula of the religious bond to believers, the sacred words, *God and the people*, declared that the temporal power of the Pope had fallen, *de facto* and *de jure*,—that decree proclaimed :—

"Society banishes you, O Pope, from its fold. Your proved impotence renders all communion of affection, of works, of aspiration between us, impossible. You ought to have guided us; but whilst our souls, irradiated with new light, foresee a vaster *ideal*, and our brows sweat blood in clearing the obstacles from our way, you, dazzled and alarmed, do but mutter to humanity the old formulæ of the middle ages from which all virtue was extracted ages ago; old doctrines of blind resignation to evils that we can overcome, and which the Christian's prayer bids us overcome—imploping that *the kingdom come on earth, as it is in heaven*. What progress have we accomplished through you, for many ages? What victims have you taught us to save? To what classes of

sufferers, in mind or in body, have we, through your agency, extended a brother's hand, and said, *sit with us at the table of equals: rejoice with us in the communion of souls, because for thee also Christ has given his blood?* A people arose in the name of the *Cross* against the oppression of the *Crescent*, and whilst men, stigmatised by you as unbelievers, ran from all parts, re-baptized to faith by the hope to conquer or die for that sign, you spoke not to that people a single word of comfort or benediction! Another people, dear to the church for its faith, and for the long and bloody sacrifices which it has made for its sake—raised, in the name of its violated temples, destroyed liberties, and abolished traditions, that national standard which once arrested the invading Mahometan under the walls of Vienna, and you—blessed its executioner! And we, thrilling with the lofty idea of love, of equality, of liberty, arose saying: *We will make of Italy an altar upon which we will join hands to pronounce the third Word of unity and life for humanity;—Father bless and guide us;—* but you, having lost all understanding of the mission of humanity and of the providential scheme, through ages of prostitution with the princes of the earth, distrustful of yourself, of us, of the world, and of Providence itself,—drew back in terror. You could do nothing but lament and curse. The energy of faith, the power of sacrifice;

the word that consoles and animates, are no longer yours. Our followers die for their faith, you for your faith—flee.”

The belief in absolute authority embodied, by the election of the few, or by the chance of birth in an individual, is for ever extinguished in Europe. Belief in Papacy is therefore extinct. The revolt of the human mind against *divine right* applied to princely power, inevitably ascends to the Pope, who protects those princes by his word and by his consecration. Papacy, like monarchy, is a corpse. The corruption which is generated around both institutions is only the consequence of their internal decay.

National sovereignty is the remedy universally accepted for preserving society from the total absence of authority, from anarchy. The sovereignty of the Church—*by the church we understand the People of Believers*—must preserve society from the absence of all religious principle and authority.

The Constituent Assembly and the Council: these are the prince and the pope of the future. Those mistaken men who persist in upholding monarchy by sophisms, expedients, and false doctrines, will not save it; they do but condemn society to a longer period of civil war, amidst illusions, delusions, conspiracies, and violent reaction. Those mistaken men who persist in upholding Papacy by sophisms, expedients, and

false doctrines, will not save it; they condemn society to many more years of immorality, doubt, and materialism.

Bury the dead; join hands in loving act and thought, and go forward. God created us for life; and do you fear that he will not reveal himself to his creatures, when,—assembled to interrogate their own hearts upon their own belief and to study the ways of the future,—they invoke his aid.

ON THE ENCYCLICA OF POPE PIUS IX.*

(Thoughts addressed to the Priests of Italy.)

I.

THE word of Pius IX. does not go forth from Rome. It would seem that even he felt the impossibility of pronouncing his anathema upon liberty, his condemnation of the education of the human race, which is the continuous tradition of the law and life of God upon earth, from the initiating city of two great epochs of human progress; from the city of eternal traditions, and of love. And this word, written by the side of the worst of the kings of Italy, is the word of a man who curses and trembles. The divorce between the world and him, between the People of Believers, *which is the true Church*, and the corrupt

* Given at Portici, December 8th, 1849.

aristocracy which usurps its name, stands out in every syllable. Papacy has long since lost the power to love or bless. It is now two years since Pius IX., moved by the grand spectacle of the resurrection of a people, pronounced a blessing upon Italy ; and that expression of love sounded so new and strange from the lips of a Pope, that all Europe imagined they saw a second era for Papacy, and pressed round the man who had pronounced the word in an intoxication of enthusiasm, unknown in the history of later times. To-day the *amende* is paid to monarchy. By the anger of an offended prince, of a pontiff whose tiara is endangered, by the aversion to every popular movement which it displays, by its ready calumnies against reformers, and by its impotent quarrels with the press, the Encyclica of December 8th resembles that of August 15th, 1832, signed Gregory XVI. Restored, "*by the arms of the Catholic Powers,*" to his principedom of the Roman states, Pius IX. acquits himself towards them, by intimating, in the church's name, war to the peoples, to those who desire to ameliorate their condition, to the press which enlightens them, to *socialism* and *communism* which he confounds in one, although the first philosophically contradicts the second. The Encyclica is an act, not of *religious initiative*, but of *political resistance* : resistance as evidently dictated by the influence of

foreign princes, as the words *communism* and *socialism*, which so frequently recur in it, are really unknown to the masses in Italy, and have never been invoked by the men of the national party.

Pass by the indignities dealt out by the Encyclica against men whose opinions the Pope approved and encouraged two years ago ; pass by the accusations of irreligion and of protestantism cast, with evident bad faith, against writers who have in all their works combated the materialism of the eighteenth century, against soldiers who have fought the battles of their country with the cross upon their breasts and the name of Pius IX. upon their lips ;—pass by the paltry accusations of ferocity, of pillage, of spoliation against chiefs who held power for many months without pronouncing a single sentence of death, and who resumed their life of exile poorer than before ;—and pass by the cowardly inexplicable insult which shame forbids us to repeat, against the noblest of Italian women, the sisters of charity of new-born Italy, uttered by him who declares, with impudent falsehood, that the priests were sent away from the bedsides of our wounded, whilst, but yesterday, immediately after the entrance of the French in Rome, he himself condemned to an imprisonment which still endures, those very priests, as guilty of having assisted these pious women in their sacred work, and of having blessed the martyrs of liberty in the

hospitals. The base falsehoods of hireling journalists sound too sadly from the lips of him who represents an institution for many ages great and powerful, for us to condescend to refute them. What is important for the world in this document, is its theory of authority, and its doctrine upon the evils of poverty and ignorance which afflict the greater part of the people in Italy and elsewhere. Both of them are a negation of God, of the word of Christ, and of Humanity.

II.

Be not deceived; the words *communism* and *socialism*, against which all the papal indignation seems directed, only represent in the Encyclica an oratorical artifice, to conciliate the timid and ill-informed, to whom those words are synonymous with anarchy, arbitrary division of the soil, abolition of property and worse; they stand in place of the scape-goats upon which were heaped all the iniquities of Israel. But Israel is the revolutionary party without exception, the national party, which says to the Italians: *You are not a people born to be slaves of the crozier or the Austrian bâton; you are twenty-six millions of men created free and equal, brothers, sons of God, and servants only to his law.* GOD AND THE PEOPLE is the formula against which the Encyclica is directed.

The Pope knows, or ought to know, that com-

munism, unknown in Italy, and opposed by most Republicans, is considered by us as an anti-progressive idea, hostile to human liberty, and practically impossible—that *socialism*, an aspiration rather than a system, only means a desire to substitute progressive association, which is the logical consequence of the brotherhood taught by Christ, for the unbridled anarchy of individual rights and privileges which now clash with one another ; he knows, or ought to know, that the source of every movement in Italy is the necessity universally felt of becoming a NATION, a nation free and great, conscious of the duties which bind it to the human family, and capable of fulfilling them. Although he dares not openly attack the Italian symbol, and evokes phantoms which concern us not, in order to combat it more advantageously, his aversion to all change, to all popular progress, to every emancipating tendency, is not the less evident. He reproaches the promoters of these changes “with deluding the working-people and the men of the lower classes with hopes of a happier fate ;” he fears that the people “stupified by vice and long license” may easily fall into the snare ; he recommends the bishops to preach that “by an immutable law of nature some must be superior to others, not only in gifts of mind and body, but also in those of riches ;” he charitably menaces eternal punishment to those unfortunates

who allow themselves to be seduced by our promises ; and finally, he puts forth a theory on the inevitable necessity of poverty, founded partly upon the formulæ of Guizot and the *doctrinaires* of France, partly upon isolated texts from the gospel, perverted or misunderstood.

The theory is this :—

“ The poor exist through causes which neither can nor ought to be changed. But the Catholic religion preaches charity to the rich, which will obtain for them treasures of grace and eternal rewards from God. The poor may thank providence that it opens to them (provided only that they peacefully and cheerfully submit to their misery) an easier path to heaven ; where alone the equitable judgment of God will be accomplished for them.”

And to this theory is joined another upon authority. *“ All authority comes from God. Every government de facto is government de jure. Obey then, or if you resist, be damned.”*

In other words, and summing up the two theories in one, *earth and heaven constitute a perpetual antagonism*. Right, equity, and truth, reign in heaven ; fact, force, and inevitable evil, upon earth. Two races of men exist : the race of the rich and powerful, the race of the poor and enslaved. The poor exist for the benefit of the rich, in order that the latter may win heaven, by exercising the virtue of charity—slaves in order that their masters may

govern in the spirit of mercy and love. Where they do not so, God will inflict punishments or grant compensations in the next world. But every effort to ameliorate the earthly condition of the poor and enslaved race, is a sin. This is the religious doctrine taught by the church of the Pope to humanity, in the nineteenth century. And it teaches it in the name of the gospel of Christ, and in the face of these words : *THY WILL BE DONE ON EARTH AS IT IS IN HEAVEN,*" contained in the only prayer which Jesus taught to believers ; in the face of this command ; *"THOU SHALT WORSHIP THE LORD THY GOD, AND HIM ONLY SHALT THOU SERVE ;"** in the face of this prophetic aspiration, *"THAT ALL MAY BE ONE ; AS THOU FATHER, ART IN ME, AND I IN THEE."*†

III.

No ; it is not true that there exists antagonism or separation between heaven and earth. No ; it is not true, that whilst truth and the justice of God reign in heaven, submission to fact, and reverence to brute force is the terrestrial law. No ; it is not true that the salvation of the human creature is accomplished here below, as in a place of expiation, by virtue of resignation and indifference. The earth is of God. The earth upon which Jesus, and after him, the holy martyrs of humanity, have

* Matthew iv. 10.

† John xvii. 21.

shed their tears and blood, is the altar upon which we are bound to offer sacrifice to God;—the soul is the priest, and our works are the incense which rises to heaven and is acceptable to our heavenly Father. The earth is a ladder to heaven, and in order that we may be worthy to mount it, our whole life should be a hymn to God. The place now given to us wherein to bear testimony to our faith, the arena of trial now granted to the free creature wherein to furnish the materials for God's judgment, this earth, ought, by our efforts, to be transformed, ameliorated, and purified, and as we are made in the image of God, it should be rendered more and more the image of the *kingdom of heaven*, of the *ideal* which God has given us, which Jesus foretold to us, and of the splendour of which our conscience, from epoch to epoch, gains a glimpse. The Law is One; and humanity is bound to fulfil each syllable of it. The soul's salvation, the progress through the infinite of the individual being, the development of the principle of life that God has placed in each of us, depends upon our activity, upon our struggles, upon the sacrifices cheerfully made, in order that the law may be fulfilled upon earth. God, in judging us, will not ask, "What hast thou done for thy soul?"—but, "What hast thou done for the souls of others, for the sister souls which I have given thee?" For those who admit the *unity* of God, and the consequent unity of the human family,

it is one of the truths of faith that we are all responsible for one another. We cannot abandon our companions in life to the woes of ignorance and servitude, without being condemned as traitors to the Law, to our mission, to the souls confided to our care. The curse of Cain is upon him who does not feel himself the guardian of his brother. We ought to elevate ourselves by elevating our brothers ; to purify ourselves by disclosing to them the way to eternal truth and beauty. Every good thought and desire that we do not endeavour, come what may, to translate into action, is a sin. The thoughts of God manifest themselves in his works ; and we should imitate him from afar.

It is not true that two races exist upon earth ; that the human family must be fatally divided into two ; that the poverty of some is necessary to the salvation of others, that the master finds, as it were, his complement in the slave. Before God there are neither masters nor servants, neither rich nor poor, neither patricians nor plebeians. And that which is not good before God, cannot be good before men. We are all free, because we are all accountable for our works, because we are all capable of progress and born to labour. Every inequality which destroys our liberty, fetters our capability of progress, enthrones idleness, or degrades, or tyrannises over labour, is not of God ; it is of evil ; and God only tolerates evil upon earth

in order that, by combating it, we may find favour in his eyes. We shall not be able absolutely to destroy it here below, because the *human* being must be perfected and his complete development accomplished elsewhere ; but we must wage eternal war against it, continually to *diminish* its dominion. The opposite faith, under whatever name disguised, is a Manichæan faith. Fatal inequalities of condition and of classes do not exist in nature ; and whosoever, let him be Pope or what he may, sustains the contrary proposition, in the name of that false and barbarous doctrine of original sin, which was transmitted from the Indian faith to the last times of Paganism, and thence to some of the Catholic divines of the thirteenth century, denies God, Christ, and Human Unity. Inequalities having their source in social forms, exist in fact in the very elements wherein the life of the individual is developed ; and we ought to labour to change these forms, to transform that element, which is susceptible of eternal modification, in the name of God, in the name of the war against evil, against sin and its consequences, commanded by him. The physical world, the workshop of humanity, was not given to the few—it was given to Labour. Material instruments, neither good nor bad in themselves, but instruments of good or evil according to the individual or collective end to which they are directed, belong to all those who work ; and they

will be more and more beneficially and *religiously* distributed, as the gradually increasing education of the human race shall teach the many how best to apply them to good. Nor will the law be humanly fulfilled whilst *a single poor man*, deprived of work and of the fruits due to labour, and abandoned to the alms of the rich, gives the lie to the tradition of the gift of the earth made by God to humanity in the person of the first man, and to that idea of fraternal *communion* contained in the daily repeated words of the Christian religion, "*in order that we may be all one.*"

And it is not true that *every* power comes from God ; it is not true that every *fact* brings with it a *right* ; it is not true that we owe submission and passive obedience to a government, whatsoever it may be. In the name of the inviolability of our immortal souls, the offspring of God, we pronounce this doctrine to be false, immoral, and atheistical ; and that whosoever professes it is an apostate from the true faith. The sovereign power is in God alone ; and the sign of legitimate power upon earth is the interpretation and fulfilment of his Law. Its born interpreters are those men who are superior to others in genius and virtue, in the spirit of love and of self-sacrifice. The best judge of their labours is the people. Thrice holy is God ; but the idol, the image, is not holy. Holy is *authority* ; but the phantom of authority is not holy. Holy is the

church; but not an imposture which calls itself the church. The thesis of Gregory VII. is true—the application was false. Power is one: the law of the Spirit—religion—governs from on high; its interpreters—the temporal powers—reduce it to action. But the law of the spirit must promote, embrace, and direct *all* the manifestations of human progress. Where that power ceases to initiate and guide, there is no religion, but the mask of religion; and to Gregory VII., who sought to substitute the *sign* of an epoch to the *idea*, and to constitute not the best interpreter as Pope, but the Pope, whosoever he might be, as interpreter of the Law; humanity now replies:—GOD IS GOD, AND THE PEOPLE IS HIS PROPHET.

God shines at the summit of the social pyramid; the people studies, receives, and interprets his will at the base. Wherever founded upon other principles, Power consciously or unconsciously violates the divine law of love, of liberty, of equality, of fraternal association, and of general education—there is evil, and it must be combated. And whosoever neglects to do so, through egotism or inertia, is guilty. Who serves evil, abandons the cause of God, the ONLY LORD. Who is not for him is against him.

Religion maintains and teaches these principles, or it is not religion. A powerless bond, *a dead letter*, and not an initiator of life, corpse-like it lies, forsaken

by the conscience of the people, and reduced to support itself by *foreign arms*, not by the power of martyrdom or of the word.

IV.

The martyrdom and word of Christ are not in opposition to our principles. Has not Jesus told us that we are all brothers and children of God? Did not he come to destroy the castes and inequalities of nature admitted by Paganism? Did he not say that he died to save, to emancipate us all from the consequences of the first sin? Did he not teach us that we ought to form on earth one holy unity in God and in love? Did he not announce that the human family should form but one flock, and should have but one shepherd, the interpreted law of God? Did he not sanction the principle of transmission according to the *spirit*, according to works, as opposed to that of transmission according to the flesh, according to the privilege of caste and of birth? Did he not enjoin upon us that, in the brotherly emulation in good works to which he exhorted his followers, he only should be deemed the first amongst us who knew how to be the last, and how best to devote himself to the common work with an ardent and self-sacrificing zeal? Does not every syllable of the gospel breathe that spirit of liberty, of equality, of war to evil, to injustice and to falsehood, which informs our zeal?

Liberty and equality in heaven, but not, you say, on earth. No; this absurd distinction is not in the gospel; and believers were not taught to despise this earth, until the Church gave itself to Cæsar; until its visible head, then himself a prince, became so enamoured of the earth as to desire the possession of a portion of it, even at the price of the blood of his brethren. Earth and heaven are continually brought together in the sacred volume, and the earth is always looked upon there as a place, not of expiation, but of preparation for heaven—as a battle-field for the education of humanity against the powers of evil and egotism which enslave and mislead it. Let us leave the discussion of a few isolated passages, misunderstood because taken separately. There is the “*Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo*” (My kingdom is not of this world); but we know that the expression was incorrectly translated in the vulgate or Latin version of the Scriptures, and that the text, decisive in our favour, says: “*Regnum meum non est NUNC de hoc mundo*,” (My kingdom is not *now* of this world). There is also the text: *Render unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar’s*; a passage which is not a doctrinal one, nor containing any rule for the future, but in which Jesus by a simple exposition of a fact *then* existing, and which could only be changed by his martyrdom, by the fulfilment of his

mission,* avoided the snare which the Pharisees had laid for him. But the whole, the spirit of the gospel, and the life of Jesus bear witness in favour of our doctrine. The miracles agree with the teaching, in destroying the antagonism between the things of the earth and those of heaven. Jesus heals souls and bodies; he prays to God for the *daily bread* of his brethren, as he asks for the virtues of the soul; he teaches equality, love, unity in brotherhood, and he enjoins his disciples to act conformably to this instruction, and to spread the law of heaven over all the earth. He announced to the apostles earthly persecutions, and heavenly triumphs for the few who fell victims to their zeal; but he promises earthly triumphs to the many who shall see fructify around them the seed of martyrdom. "*Blessed are they that mourn,*" he says in the sermon on the mount, † "*for they shall be comforted. Blessed are the meek; for they shall inherit the earth, Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.*" Combat, work, and transform the earth; make it yours; but if persecution meets you half way, and

* "The hour is come that the Son of man should be glorified. Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit."—*John* xii. 23, 24.

"Now is the judgment of this world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out. And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me."—*John* xii. 31, 32.

† Matthew v. 4, 5, 10.

prevents you from seeing the fulfilment of your mission, console yourselves : they may rob you of earth, but not of heaven. The whole of this sublime discourse inculcates upon believers the necessity of an active devotion, seeking to embody faith upon the earth and in the earth, and combating the inertia and cowardice which might invade their souls. “ *Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick ; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven. Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the Prophets : I am not come to destroy but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled.*”^{*} And he adds at the end, as if fearing not to be understood, “ *Ye shall know them by their fruits. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire. Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven ; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven. And every one that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand.*”[†]

^{*} Matthew v. 14-18.

[†] Matthew vii. 16, 19, 21, 26,

And Jesus having come down from the mount, exemplified the thought which he had developed in the sermon, by healing the sick man afflicted with leprosy.

*"Seek ye the kingdom of God, and all these things shall be added unto you."**

The whole doctrine of the gospel is summed up in this text ; the superiority of mind over matter, of the *idea* over the *fact*, of belief over temporal authority, the search after moral perfection over that of material good. And this also is our doctrine, God first, then the people, and the people interpreter of God's law. Material wealth, as we have said, is an instrument of good, if it is applied to the advantage of all—an instrument of evil, if applied to an egotistical end ; it ought to be distributed according to the works and the moral education of men.

And in order to organise this predominance of mind over matter, of the idea over the form—in order to furnish a governing principle for the education of men, Jesus sanctioned a theory of authority, founded upon works and not upon privilege ; a theory that disavows the abject doctrine of absolute submission taught by the Pope, and gives believers a rule for judging whether an authority be legitimate or not, whether it be derived from God or violates his law.

* Matthew vi. 33.

"Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them"—this is the exposition of the fact ; now follows the right : "*But it shall not be so among you : but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister ; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant ; Even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.*"*

Such is the law of Christ ; and to the Pope who has forgotten it, we recall this warning : "*But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.*"† Let the lukewarm who know this law, but who from idleness or love of the semblance of peace dare not profess it, remember this declaration, "*Think not that I am come to send peace on earth : I came not to send peace, but a sword. He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me : and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me.*"‡

And the apostles of him who, when near death, said "*I have overcome the world,*"§ and who having risen, declared : "*All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth,*"|| understood their mission. In

* Matthew xx. 25-28. The first verse is even more explicit in the *Gospel of St. Mark*. "*Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles.*"—Mark x. 42.

† Matthew x. 33.

§ John xvi. 33.

‡ Idem, 34-37.

|| Matt. xxviii. 18.

joining together in their preachings the body and the spirit—"Glorify God in your body and in your spirit, which are God's,"*—in declaring that the work of transformation committed to them embraced both heaven and earth, they boldly called upon believers to combat any authority that should oppose itself to the fulfilment of the law. And after saying that the mystery of the Divine will was, "*that in the dispensation of the fulness of times, he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth.*"†—after having pronounced these sublime words: "*There is one body and one Spirit, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all;*"‡—the Apostle Paul breaks forth into a holy hymn of war against the powerful, and of encouragement to the militant church, which sounds like a bitter reproach to our degenerate priests:—"Finally, my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places. Stand, therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness; And your feet shod with the

* 1 Cor. vi. 20.

† Eph. i. 10.

‡ Eph. iv. 4-6.

*preparation of the gospel of peace; Above all, taking the shield of faith . . . and take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.**

“Although,” says Pius in the Encyclica, “the arms of nations have restored Rome unto me,—although the tumults of war (the battles of independence!) have disappeared even in the other parts of Italy, the wicked ones desist not!” Desist! No; never. In the name of Jesus and of St. Paul, in the name of all combatants in the cause of truth and justice, we will persist. May remorse and shame haunt him who fails through fear of poverty, through deceptions or persecutions. Ours is the cause of God. The walls and stones of Rome may, through the power of foreign arms, be yours for a time, but the soul of Rome is with us. The Thought of Rome is ours. The holy ark of our faith, enclosing the seed of a certain future, we bear with us, and will preserve it intact in exile, as the first Christians bore with them the Idea of Jesus, now betrayed by you, into the silence of catacombs and prisons. But it shall shine again from Rome over the world, crowned with the light of a victory which cannot long be disputed either by your Encyclicas, or by the profane arms which you have invoked.

Religion is no longer in your camp; it is in

* Eph. vi. 10, *et seq.*

ours. Through you, through the hopeless war that you raise up against the Thought of God, and through the culpable inertia of men who call themselves priests without fulfilling a single duty of their calling, the world, given up to the darkness of doubt and hatred, is now led astray by false systems which are more powerful than your word, because they point dimly to the *future*, whilst you are endeavouring to enchain humanity, impelled onward by the Divine breath, to the corpse of a past extinct for ever.

V.

Priests of Italy, our words are grave. As you value the salvation of the world, and of your faith, give ear unto us. We could—one of yourselves has confessed it,* and may it be a proof of the spirit in which we address you—conquer without you; but we do not wish: Are you not our brothers? Are you not born, you also, on this Italian soil which we are endeavouring to sanctify in love and faith? Are you not sons of this people, now filled with anger and mistrust, and whom we would fain unite in a single family? We attempt no arts of seduction or terror with you; we do not persecute our adversaries with calumnies; we do not exhort you to refrain from reading their books, or from listening to their discourses. We ask from

* Father Ventura.

you but one thing: listen also to us. Or, better still, hearken to the voice of humanity which God has confided to your care: between humanity and the Pope place the open gospel; then, freed from hatred and blind submission, search your consciences and judge. Our appeal to you is made in the spirit of truth. Human, and prone to err, we may sin through ignorance; but not through hypocrisy. We have the boldness of truth; the Pope knows this, and for this he fears us. He who addresses you in the name of his brothers, can say to you: *Examine my life—you will not be able to find therein a single act which contradicts the faith I inculcate: examine all that I have written during the last twenty years; you will not be able to find therein a single line breathing irreligion or materialism.* As the interpreter of many of my brethren, I declared from the time that my mind opened to the Italian Thought, that there had long been divorce between the religious and the political idea, between the church and humanity;—that this divorce was fatal; that without a *faith* no good thing was possible—neither a society of brethren, nor true and peaceful liberty, nor a country, nor any efficacious transformation of the corrupt element in which we live;—that it was necessary at every cost to reunite earth to heaven, our earthly life to the conception of the life eternal, man to God, his Father and Teacher. And now I add, that the

hour is at hand, that the time is ripe, that materialism is undermined, that the want of religious life is universally felt, and that through you alone, through your obstinacy in upholding a fallen edifice, in supporting the existing church, though adverse to the inevitable progress of humanity, men are living in doubt, religion is exiled from their souls, and in spite of all we can do, times of discord and works of blood are being prepared, for which you will be responsible before God and men.

In the name of God, and for the love of our country, we ask you : are you Christians ? Do you comprehend the gospel ? Do you regard the word of Jesus as a dead letter, or do you worship its spirit ? Between the spirit of the gospel and the word of the Pope, are you obstinately resolved upon choosing the latter, without examination, without an appeal to your consciences ? Are you believers or idolaters ?

In the first lines of the gospel, the evil spirit offers Jesus dominion over the kingdoms and principalities of the earth, provided that he will serve him and betray his mission : Jesus, despising him, refuses. When you see the heads of your hierarchy leaguings with princes, cursing the people for them, and shedding its blood in order to preserve for themselves a portion of our Italian land, does that page of the gospel never recur to your minds ? In another page, Jesus, the gentlest, meekest, and

most loving spirit that ever descended upon earth, armed himself with a scourge, and in an outburst of holy indignation, chased the traffickers from the temple. Do you never think of that page, my brothers? Is the temple now free from buyers and sellers? The Pharisees—the sectaries of the dead letter,—have they all disappeared? Does the word of God shine pure and life-giving, as when it was spoken by Jesus?

VI.

Priests of Christ, look around.

Why thrills the earth? Whence this cry of struggling nations whom no force can reduce to peace and silence? For how many days, since how many months has that agitation given irrefutable proof of new wants, of new events? For more than sixty years, and it is yet increasing. Can you point to us a spot, a central point whence this agitation commences? It breaks forth everywhere, without any fixed centre, in distant lands, amongst peoples separated by race and custom; in Italy, in France, amongst the Slavonians, at Pesth, at Vienna, from the extremity of Sicily to St. Petersburg, not a month passes without a movement, without an attempt at insurrection; not a day without intelligence from one part of Europe or another of a danger, or of a persecution. How many times has this agitation been repressed? Ten, twenty, fifty times: all the armies, the whole strength of

old Europe, all the arts of diplomacy have leagued together to extinguish it, and have appeared to do so : then, after a short time, it rises again more powerful than before. How many amongst the agitators have perished ? They are not to be counted. In every land they have fallen by hundreds upon the scaffold, by the axe ; by thousands upon the field of battle ; by thousands from want and hunger in exile. How died they ? Almost all with a smile upon their lips, with proud disdain upon their brows, with the calm serenity which is given by the consciousness of a mission accomplished ; as martyrs die.

And you call this uprising of the peoples *an emeute* ? Can you believe that it is the work of a few factious individuals ? I say to you that it is the uprising of humanity, impelled by the finger of God, announcing a new epoch—a providential epoch—before which you ought reverently to bow the head, and ask the Father of men to enlighten you upon His designs, upon the new destinies that He is maturing for His sons, upon the character of the new transformation that He is preparing for the human race.

And what is the cry of the peoples excited to insurrection ? Fatherland, Liberty, Nationality, Equality, God and the People, Progress, Fraternal Association, Alliance ; holy and prophetic sounds of a new order of things, a complete translation of

these words of Jesus, *Omnes unum sint* (that all may be one). Some, like Poland and Greece, rose with the cross upon their banner ; another, Italy, in the name of the Pope who now anathematises her. And the first rising was, with all, pure from vengeance, noble in its forgetfulness of injuries, holy in love, enthusiasm, and faith. They, the victims, abolished the scaffold for their enemies. If the noble cause has been sullied by some isolated facts, they have occurred later, instigated by cruel reactions and senseless resistance, and have been condemned by universal consent. If from among the agitated multitudes some cries of anarchy, or of subversive utopias, burst forth, they are the cries of despairing men, a hundred times deceived and betrayed, a hundred times defrauded of their just demands, by the inexorable will of a caste or of a king : and would all die away on the day of victory.

And what, oh priests of Italy ! is the desire of our, of your country ? We desire to unite the twenty-six-millions of men who people the land of Italy into a single family, under a single law, under the shadow of a single banner. We desire to continue the tradition of our fathers, and to open to our sons a path upon which they will not meet exile, the gibbet, or the bâton of the Croat. We desire that for the benefit of humanity, our intellect may be free, that our word may be free, and our

work powerful. We desire not to worship falsehood, but truth; we invoke an authority; but an authority founded upon the interpretation of the Law, not upon a usurping and arbitrary will; we seek guides and chiefs; but we seek them amongst the chosen in intellect and virtue, amongst the most devoted and the best; we ask for the food of the soul, education, for all; for the bread of the body, work, for all; that "*thy will be done, O Lord, ON EARTH as it is in heaven.*"

To these demands have you no other reply than that contained in the Encyclica? Do not your souls thrill with the sense of any other mission than that summed up by the Pope in the word *resist*?

Resist the nation, humanity, the will of God? You are then irrevocably lost! Religion is eternal; the church of believers is eternal. But the regeneration of religion, the purification and transformation of the church, which with your aid would be peacefully and solemnly achieved, will cost humanity terrible struggles, and the tears and blood of many martyrs. God will descend upon the multitudes and upon you, not as dew upon the fleece, but in the whirlwind, and surrounded by lightnings as in the bush of Sinai.

VII.

I open the gospel and I read:—

"If ye love me keep my commandments; and I will pray the Father, and he shall give you

ANOTHER COMFORTER, THAT HE MAY ABIDE WITH YOU FOR EVER. Even the Spirit of Truth.*

"I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman. Every branch in me that beareth not fruit he taketh away: and every branch that beareth fruit, he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit.†

"I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when he, the Spirit of Truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth: for he shall not speak of himself; but WHATSOEVER HE SHALL HEAR THAT SHALL HE SPEAK: AND HE WILL SHEW YOU THINGS TO COME."‡

And I reflect: the church is struck with blindness, and your intellect, O priests of Jesus! is dead to the consciousness of the true life, if before the power of prophetic intuition contained in these words, before a religious programme which establishes the immense superiority of the faith of Christ over all the traditions of the past—you can find no other words to inscribe upon your banner than the fatal one *resist*. The conscience of the progressive mission confided to religion—the presentiment of the successive purification of beliefs—the education given from epoch to epoch by God to the human race, proportionately to the degree of its intellectual and moral development—reverence

* John xiv. 15-17. † John xv. 1, 2. ‡ John xvi. 12, 13.

for the great religious tradition of humanity—all are in those passages ; to which the papal doctrine opposes an impious and absurd theory of immobility. The holy church of the future, the church of the free and equal, the church which shall bless every progress of the Spirit of Truth, and identify itself with the life of humanity ; which shall have neither pope nor laity, but wherein all shall be believers, all priests with different offices,* is there foreseen and predicted. And on the transformation of the corrupt aristocratic church of to-day into this renewed popular church of the future, depends,—I will not say the solution—that is not in the power of man—but the mode, more or less violent, more or less dangerous, of the solution of the religious question. Let priests ponder and prepare. We invoke their aid in the sacred work, but we cannot, because of their tardiness, cease our efforts or linger on the way.

VIII.

Sons of God all of us and of the same redemption, we cannot betray our duty towards our brothers, because those who are the most bound to speak are silent through cowardice. Our brothers can only be redeemed from sloth by honouring labour and teaching its sacredness. Nor can the sacredness of labour be taught except by reforming a society founded upon privilege. Our brothers

* 1 Cor. xii. 4, *et seq.*

can only be redeemed from falsehood by destroying the public worship that is paid to it; nor can this be done without changing the nature of the government, which is now based upon falsehood, and gives the people, not the best or wisest men for guides, but the offspring of an hereditary monarchical race. Our brothers can only be redeemed from homicide by teaching the inviolability of life, the improvement and not the destruction of the guilty. Nor can this be taught where the executioner is an officer of the government, where *legal* killing is declared to be the support of the social edifice. The brotherhood of Christ cannot be founded where the ignorance, misery, and servitude of some, and the science, riches, and domination of others, prevent men from mutually esteeming and loving each other. Nor can these causes of inequality be effectually diminished without a national education being administered by society to all its members. Men's minds cannot be imbued with the virtue of self-sacrifice, in a society where egotism is ever taught by present risk, where money is the sole foundation for the security and independence of individuals. Confidence cannot be efficaciously taught in a land furrowed by government spies, and sown at every step with offices of censure and prisons. The mission towards humanity confided by God to the nations, cannot be fulfilled where there

is no nation, where the name of common country is proscribed, where many governors, hostile to each other, and all opposed to the free progress of the peoples, study to raise intellectual, moral, and physical barriers between brothers. Those artificial barriers are not to be overthrown without restoring to the people the *citizen* soldiers, who are now paid and corrupted by the princes and devoted to their defence ; without combating and chasing beyond the Alps the *foreign* soldiers placed there by European despotism.

Revolution is then for us a work of education, a religious mission. Had we naught to sustain us in our struggles but the impulse of anger or of reaction, we should long since have been disheartened by doubt and wearied by delusions. Had we drawn our inspiration from the love of power, we could, by sacrificing our convictions in part, have at once satisfied the low desire. As there exists no church save one hostile to the Spirit of Truth, and degenerated from its first institution, *we* are now the Militant Church of Precursors to the temple which shall be rebuilt, invoking *the kingdom of God, upon earth as it is in heaven*. We are the Church of Precursors until the virtuous who feel the necessity of a true and living faith, as the unifier of all human efforts, and inspirer of all human faculties, having assembled in council, having interrogated progress, having explored the evils, and

decreed the remedies for our state, shall lay the first stone of the UNIVERSAL CHURCH of Humanity. And then only, the world being conquered by his teaching, Jesus will be able to repeat to the Father with an ineffable smile : "I have manifested thy name unto the men which thou gavest me out of the world ; thine they were, and thou gavest them me ; and they have kept thy word."*

IX.

"The principle," we said, when we commenced the "*Italia del Popolo*," (the Italy of the People) "proclaimed by the people as the highest authority in the sphere of political life, under the name of the CONSTITUENT, will have its inevitable application in the sphere of religious life ; and that application will be called the COUNCIL"

National sovereignty is the remedy universally accepted for saving the country from the negation of all authority, from anarchy. Let the sovereignty of the church—*by the church we understand the people of believers*—save society from the absence of all religious principle and authority. CONSTITUENT AND COUNCIL ; these are the Prince and the Pope of the future."

We again repeat these words to the priests of Italy with a deep sense of affection and hope. May God enlighten them for the sake of the coun-

* John xvii. 6.

try and for the sake of the church! May it awaken in them faith in works, holy hopes, the charity which transforms the languor of unbelieving souls into burning life! May it reveal to them, so that they do not err by mistrusting us, our intention and our mission! The church is Cæsar's, let them restore it to God. The hierarchy is changed into a parasitical plant, consuming the life of an institution destined to expand and elevate itself with humanity: let them uproot it, and let them renovate the institution in the election and in the inspirations of the people. The word of Jesus is destroyed, betrayed, sacrificed to the falsehoods of those *who call themselves the princes of the earth*: let them re-establish it in honour. Humanity thirsts after progress and faith; after an authority freely erected and obeyed; and the Pope replies: *immobility and passive obedience*. To the Council, to the Council! The Church shall furnish another answer.

NOTE (1868).

Upon re-reading the following pages after nearly twenty years of life and of study of the religious problem, I perceive that I went too far in asserting that the unity of earth and heaven was maintained in the *doctrine* of Jesus. The assertion will strike the reader as inconsistent with what I have elsewhere said of the actual inefficacy of

Christianity to define our human mission, which I regard as the result of the germ of *duality* introduced into the doctrine by its founder, and which completely dominated the Christian dogma in its development.

I wrote those pages for the priests of Italy, and intent upon proving to them that the Pope was unfaithful not only to our own, but to the doctrine of Christ, I accumulated the evidence of those texts which were favourable to my proposition, and omitted to allude to those which either tended to weaken my argument, or would have compelled me to enter into a lengthened discussion.

Were I now to re-write the article, I should find some things to cancel and much to add.

The contradiction however between these pages and my later works, is more apparent than real. It was impossible that Jesus, a soul blessed with such mighty love and such perfect harmony between thought and action,—should fail in inward sense of the inevitable realisation of such harmony between earth and heaven, and hence the grand truths and instinctive previsions of the future, scattered through his moral teachings, which I brought together in this article upon the Encyclica. He stood and stands alone, supreme over all other great religious reformers in everything that concerns the heart and the affections. But his *intellectual* grasp did not extend beyond the require-

ments of a single epoch. The great want of the epoch of which he was the Initiator, was the affirmation of human individuality, of the inviolability of conscience, of the equality of all human souls, and of the possibility that each and all men should achieve their redemption and ascend to God.

With regard to the problem of the means by which redemption should be worked out, Jesus—placed between the Israelitish records and the impossibility in that epoch of arriving at a conception of the *collective* life of humanity—and therefore at a true conception of the Deity—remains uncertain and below the height of the idea of which a glimpse has been revealed in our own day.

Starting from a conception of human life founded upon human individuality only, it was impossible he should reach the idea of God the supreme Educator of humanity; of progress, by His decree, the *law* of human life; of association, the slow but infallible method of that law's fulfilment, and of the harmony resulting from such fulfilment between the terrestrial and the future life of humanity.

Hence the hypotheses of the fall, of redemption through a mediator, and of grace, with its correlative eternity of punishment—the germs of all of which, implanted by Jesus into his doctrine and fully developed by his followers during the

first three centuries after his death, constituted the Christian dogma.

And hence—owing to the 'invariable sovereignty of dogma over practical morality—the inefficacy of Christianity to realise the sublime previsions of Jesus, and to solve the problem of our earthly life.

If my readers will bear these few words in mind, they will find it easy to reconcile the apparent contradictions between the foregoing pages and my later writings.

APPENDIX.



OFFICIAL ACTS OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

I.

[THE Republic was proclaimed, by an assembly elected by universal suffrage, on the 9th of February 1849. On the 24th of February the members of the *mountain* in the French Constituent Assembly sent an address of congratulation and promise of fraternal aid to the Roman Constituent Assembly. Being commissioned by the Roman Assembly to reply to that address, I sent the following answer :]

Citizens,—Your address reaches us at a solemn moment ; on the eve of battle.* It will inspire and encourage us to fresh energy in the holy struggle about to begin. France has done great things for the world : you have hoped, suffered, and fought for humanity, and every word spoken by you imposes upon us duties which, with God's help, we shall know how to fulfil.

You, citizens, have understood all that there is of great, noble, and providential in this flag of regeneration floating above the city that encircles the Capital and Vatican,—a new consecration of eternal right ; a third world arising upon the ruins of two worlds extinct : an Italy who will be sister to France, bursting the walls of her sepulchre, and demanding, in the name of the mission she is destined to fulfil, her right of citizenship in the

* The renewal of hostilities between Austria and Piedmont.

federation of the peoples. You have understood that our hearts are pure from all hatred or intolerance; that we are fulfilling a work of human improvement and love, and that by asserting our rights without attacking the existing religion, by separating the Pope from the Prince, we have assumed the obligation never to contaminate this great work by the base passion and cowardly vengeance of which we have been accused by a corrupt or deluded press. This obligation we shall fulfil: such words as yours are to us a recompense for many calumnies, and an assurance against many a covert betrayal; we know that you will enlighten your fellow citizens upon the true character of our revolution, and sustain our right to the national life which you have already proclaimed and achieved for yourselves.

There is but one sun in heaven for all the earth: there is but one aim, one law, one faith—*association and progress*—for all the populations of the earth. Like yourselves, we fight for the whole world. The peoples are brothers and will remain such, happen what may.

Trust in us; we will trust in you. If in the coming struggle our strength fail us, we shall remember your promises and cry aloud to you—*Brothers arise, the hour has come*, and we shall see your volunteers hasten to our aid.

In the days of the empire we fought side by side, and we will fight side by side again for all that men hold most dear—God, the Fatherland, Liberty, the Republic, and the holy alliance of the peoples.

II.

[The Triumvirate, of which I made one, was elected on the 29th of March. The following is the Programme of Principles we published.]

Citizens,—Five days have elapsed since we received our sacred mandate from the Assembly. We have carefully studied the actual condition of the Roman

States, and that of Italy, our common country. We have sought to interrogate the wishes of the worthiest citizens, and the dictates of our own conscience ; and it is now time that the people should hear our voice and learn what are the general principles by which we shall be governed in the execution of the mandate imposed upon us.

To provide for the safety of the Republic ; to protect it from dangers within and without ; to cause it worthily to maintain its ground in the war of independence ; such is the task entrusted to us.

This mandate signifies in our eyes respect, not only for a form of government, for a name, but also for the *principle* represented by this name and by this form of government. This principle is for us a principle of love, of civilisation, of fraternal progress by all and for all, of moral, intellectual, and economical improvement for the entire body of the citizens. The Republican flag, raised in Rome by the representatives of the people, does not represent the triumph of one fraction of the citizens over another. It represents the common triumph—a victory—gained by the many, acquiesced in by the immense majority,—of the principle of good over the principle of evil ; of the common right over the will of a small number ; of holy equality, the gift of God to all the human species, over privilege and despotism. We cannot be republicans without being superior, and proving that we are superior, to the powers now overthrown for ever. Liberty and virtue, the Republic and fraternity, ought to be inseparably united. It is for us to set an example to Europe. The Republic in Rome is an Italian programme ; it is a hope, a future for twenty-six millions of men, our brothers. It is bound to prove to Italy and to Europe that our cry of *God and the People* is not a lie ; that our work is eminently religious, a work of education and morality ; that the accusations of intolerance, anarchy, and violent upturning of things directed against us, are false ; that

united thanks to the Republican principle, into one family of righteous men, under the eye of God, and following the inspiration of the highest amongst us in genius and virtue, we advance towards the attainment of true order—the association of Law and Power.

It is thus we understand our mission ; and it is thus that we hope all the citizens will learn by degrees to understand it with us. We are not the Government of a Party ; we are truly the Government of the Nation. The Nation is Republican. The nation embraces all who sincerely profess its republican faith ; it pities and instructs all those who do not as yet comprehend the sacredness of that faith ; it crushes, in the omnipotence of its sovereignty, all who attempt to violate it by open revolt, or secret intrigues provocative of civil dissensions.

Neither intolerance nor weakness. The Republic is at once conciliatory and energetic. The Government is strong ; therefore it is fearless. Its task is to preserve intact the rights, and aid the free performance of the duties of all the citizens ; therefore it does not sink into the repose of vain and culpable security. The Nation has conquered—conquered for ever. Its Government ought to exhibit the serene and generous calmness, not the abuse of victory. Inexorable as to principles ; tolerant and impartial as to persons ; equally incapable of compromise and mistrust ; neither fearing offence nor seeking to offend ;—such ought a Government to be, in order to be worthy of republican institutions.

Economy in the public offices ; morality in the choice of officials ; capacity—proved by experience when possible—at the head of the administrative departments.

Severe verification, order, and control in financial matters ; limited expenditure, avoidance of all waste ; the money of the country devoted exclusively to the good of the country ; every sacrifice exacted when demanded by the necessities of the country.

No war of classes ; no hostility to existing wealth ; no wanton or unjust violation of the rights of property ;

but a constant disposition to ameliorate the material condition of the classes least favoured by fortune; a firm determination to re-establish the credit of the state, and to check every culpable egotism, either of monopoly, artifice, or passive resistance tending to dissolve or impair it.

Laws few and well-weighed; but vigilance and firmness in their execution.

The power and discipline of the regular army held sacred to the defence of the country and to the National war for the independence and liberty of Italy.

Such are the general bases of our programme, which will be developed more or less speedily according to circumstances, but never violated by us.

Recently invested with power, surrounded by the abuses fostered by the fallen government, and impeded at every step by the effects of the inertia and hesitation of others, we shall have need of toleration from all; need above all things that none should judge us save by our own acts. Friends to all who desire the well-being of our common country; pure in intention if not great in intellect; surrounded by circumstances the gravest that ever befell a people or their government, we shall have need of the active aid of all, of the harmonious, fraternal, and pacific work of all. And this we hope to have. The country ought not, it must not, go back: it ought not, it will not, fall into anarchy. Let all good men assist us: God, who has decreed the resurrection of Rome and the nationality of Italy, will be with us.

5th April 1849.

III.

Whereas it is the office and duty of a well-organised Republic to provide for the gradual amelioration of the condition of the most necessitous classes;

Whereas the improvement most urgent at the present moment is that of withdrawing as many families as possible

from the evils resulting from crowded and unhealthy habitations ;

Whereas, while the Republic is occupied in endeavouring to destinate proper localities, both in the provinces and in Rome itself, for the use of the indigent classes, it is a work of republican morality to cancel even the vestiges of past iniquity by consecrating to benevolence that which past tyranny employed for torture, the Constituent Assembly, at the suggestion of the Triumvirs, decrees :—

1. The edifice hitherto used as the *Holy Office*, is henceforth dedicated to the use of necessitous families or individuals, who shall be allowed to have lodgings therein on payment of a small monthly rent.

2. A commission is instituted, composed of three representatives of the people, and two civil engineers, to provide with all due speed for the execution of the present decree :

a. By receiving applications from Roman families or individuals asking for lodgings in the above-mentioned locality, and selecting those who are proved to be the most necessitous ;

b. By causing such alterations to be made in the above-mentioned locality as are necessary in order to adapt it to its new destination.

c. By appropriating the necessary amount of space to those whose applications shall have been granted, fixing the rent they will be required to pay, and putting them in possession of their lodging.

d. By drawing up rules for the maintenance of order and discipline within the building, and for the general administration and preservation of the locality.

3. No sub-letting of the aforesaid lodgings will be permitted.

4. The Commission will commence its sittings within the building itself on the 9th inst., for the immediate execution of the duties with which it is entrusted.

4th April 1849.

IV.

Whereas there is no more appropriate and speedy method of rendering the labours of the agriculturist lucrative, and of benefiting a most numerous and useful class ; of strengthening their affection for their country, and interesting them in the organisation of the great reform ; of improving the soil and its cultivators at one and the same time, by the emancipation of both, than that of parcelling out a large portion of the vast rural possessions now actually administered, or to be administered by the State, into small leasehold allotments at a moderate annual rent, redeemable at any given time, to one or several families of the poorest peasants ; under such regulations and conditions as shall be deemed most fitting to ensure the speediest, most just, and most stable execution of so salutary a purpose, it is decreed —

Article 1. A large portion of the rural domains belonging to religious corporations or other *main-mortes* of whatsoever description in whatsoever portion of the Roman territory, which either are or are to be placed under the administration of the State, shall be immediately divided into a given number of portions, sufficient for the maintenance of one or more necessitous families having no other means of subsistence ; who shall hold them in free and permanent leasehold in consideration of a moderate *canon* payable to the State, redeemable at any given time from the leasehold.

Article 2. A special regulation will distinctly determine the method of proceeding by which this wholesome provision shall be effectuated.

Article 3. Analogous measures will be taken with regard to the *fondi urbani*, arising from the same or from similar sources, with a view of providing better and less costly habitations for the poorer classes.

Article 4. The measures already announced with regard to the fitting payment of the expenses of public worship, the pastoral administration of parishes, and

other establishments of public interest, either through payment in kind, the produce of leaseholds or other public monies belonging to the provincial or municipal authorities, will remain in force.

Article 5. The Ministers of Finance and of the Interior, are respectively charged with the execution of the present law.

V.

[The decree of the 15th April, after setting forth that it should be the "constant aim of Republican institutions, progressively to ameliorate the condition of the masses," and that the high price of salt had "an injurious effect upon agriculture, the fisheries, retail trade, commerce, and the health of the poor;" reduced the duty upon every description of salt to one bajocco for every Roman lb.]

VI.

Romans,—The territory of the Republic is threatened by foreign intervention. A body of French troops has appeared before Civita Vecchia.

Whatever may be their intentions, the maintenance of the Principle of Government freely accepted by the people, the right of Nations, and the honour of the Roman name, command the Republic to resist.

The Republic will resist. It is necessary that the people should prove to France and to the world that they are not a people of children, but a people of men, and of men who once gave laws and civilisation to Europe. It is necessary that none should be able to say that *the Romans desired to be free, but knew not how*. It is necessary that the French nation should learn from our resistance, our declarations, and our whole bearing, that we are firmly resolved never again to submit to the Government we overthrew.

The people will prove this. They who think otherwise, dishonour the people and are traitors to their country.

Order, solemn tranquillity, and serious energy. The Government is on the watch inexorably to prevent any attempt to excite anarchy, or any act injurious to the Republic. Citizens, organise yourselves and rally round us. God and the People, law and energy will be triumphant.

25th April 1849.

[I drew up at the same time with the above, the following Protest, which the Assembly sent the same day to General Oudinot]

“ The Roman Assembly, disturbed by the threatened invasion of the territory of the Republic, feeling that this invasion, in no way provoked by the conduct of the Republic towards foreign powers, unprecedented by any communication from the French Government, and calculated to excite anarchy in a country calmly reposing in the consciousness of its rights and the order and concord of its citizens, is a violation alike of the rights of nations, the guarantees offered by the French Constitution, and the bonds of fraternity which should unite the two Republics,—protests in the name of God and the People against the unlooked for invasion, declares its firm determination to resist, and holds France responsible for the consequences ”

VII

Whereas all religious vows are simply a moral obligation between the human conscience and God ;

Whereas a civil state has no right as such to interfere by any extrinsic and material means in the sphere of spiritual duty ;

Whereas the life and capacity of every man belong of right to the Society and Country wherein he has been placed by Providence ;

Whereas the State cannot recognise as irrevocable

any promises which deprive it of the services, or restrain the free will and action of the citizens ;

The Triumvirate decrees :—

The State does not recognise the perpetuity of the vows uttered by individuals belonging to the so-called regular religious orders.

Every individual, to whatsoever religious order he may belong, is empowered to withdraw from the rules and observances to which he bound himself upon taking the religious vows.

The State will protect all those who determine to avail themselves of the present decree from violence or opposition.

The State will gratefully receive into the ranks of its army any Priests who may be desirous of joining in the defence of the Country for which they have until now offered up their prayers to God.

The present decree will be read aloud by a Government Commissioner to the Members of the Religious Corporations assembled in full community in their respective Convents.

27th April 1849.

VIII.

[The decree of the 15th of April having proclaimed that a large portion of the uncultivated lands held by the various religious corporations and other *mazz mortels* had been declared by the vote of the Assembly of the 21st February to be the property of the Republic ;—another decree of the 27th April provided for the execution of that measure.]

IX.

Having faith in the generous principles, as well as in the courage of the Roman people ; being convinced that, although determined to defend the independence of their country to the last extremity against all invasion—the people of Rome does not consider the French

people responsible for the errors and faults of their Government ;

Relying unboundedly on the people, and on the sanctity of the republican principle ;

The Triumvirate decrees :—

All foreigners, and especially the French, dwelling peaceably in Rome, are placed under the guardianship of the nation ,

Whosoever shall attempt to do them the least injury, shall be considered guilty of an offence against the honour of Rome.

The Government will take care that no one shall violate the duties of hospitality.

April 28th 1849.

X.

Romans !—A body of Neapolitan troops has passed the frontier, and appears to be moving in the direction of Rome.

Their purpose is to re-establish the Pope in absolute temporal power. Their weapons are persecution, ferocity, and pillage. Their ranks encircle the king to whom Europe has given the name of the *Bombarder* of his subjects, and around him stand the most determined of the conspirators of Gaeta.

Romans !—We have conquered our first assailants ; we will conquer the second. The blood of the best among the Neapolitan patriots, the blood of our Sicilian brothers weighs heavily upon the head of the traitor king. God, who confounds the wicked and strengthens the defenders of the right, has chosen you, O Romans ! as avengers. The will of God and our country be done.

In the name of the rights common to all countries, and in the name of the duty Rome owes to Italy and Europe,—in the name of the Italian mothers who have cursed that king, and of the Roman mothers who will bless the defenders of their children,—in the name of our liberties, our conscience, and our honour,—in the name

of God and the people—we will resist. We will resist, soldiers and people, capital and province. Let Rome be as inviolable as eternal justice. We have learned that in order to conquer, it suffices to fear not death. Long live the Republic !

2d May 1849.

XI.

People of the Republic !—The Neapolitan troops have invaded our territory and are marching upon Rome. Let the war of the People begin.

Rome will do her duty—let the provinces do theirs.

The moment has arrived to make a supreme effort. All who believe in the dignity of their immortal soul, in the inviolability of their rights, in the sanctity of their oaths, in the justice of the Republic, in the independence of the peoples, and in Italian honour, are this day bound in duty to act. For all who hold dear their liberty, their homes, their families, the beloved one, their native land, their life,—action is a necessity. Citizens, your life, liberty, property, rights,—all are threatened ; they seek to tear all from you.

The banner raised by the king of Naples is for us the banner of despotism and unlimited tyranny. His first footprints are printed in blood. The lists of proscription are traced in blood.

You have too long been content with words, whilst others conspired and laid in wait. Be not deceived. You have to-day to choose between exile, poverty, and the scaffold, or battle and victory. Peoples of the Republic, all hesitation or uncertainty would be cowardice, and useless cowardice.

Arise then and act The decisive hour has sounded. Slavery such as you have never known, or liberty worthy of your ancient glory, lasting security and the applause of all Europe. Arise then and arm. Let it be war ; inexorable, universal war, since they will have it so, and it will be brief.

While Rome assails the enemy in front, surround and molest them on the flank and rear.

Rome will be the central nucleus of the national army of which you will be the flying squadrons.

Resist in whatever way you may. Whensoever local defence is impossible; let every fifty men form a guerrilla band, every ten a national squadron; let each man of undoubted honesty who can rally ten others around him, be their chief. The Republic will gratefully reward them. Let each Prefect direct a centre of insurrection and give commissions to chiefs of guerrilla bands or squadrons. The Republic will take note of all the names, and assign rewards in money, land, and honour. The brevets will serve as a *feuille de route*, which will be recognised by the communes as giving the right of free passage and of succour.

The guerrilla bands and flying squadrons will avoid regular encounters with the enemy, but harass them, destroy their repose, cut off their provisions and stragglers, annoy and distress them, surrounding them as with a web of iron, impeding their movements, and wearying them out.

Let insurrection at once become the daily life, the pulse, the breath of every patriot. Let the inactive be punished with infamy, traitors with death.

Let the Republic be as terrible in war as it has been great in peace. Let Europe learn then we are determined to live and that we know how. God and the people will bless our arms.

3d May 1849.

XII.

Romans!—Rare, but grave disorders have arisen. Some acts of devastation and injury to property have been committed, which endanger the majestic tranquillity with which Rome has sanctified her victory. For the honour of Rome and the triumph of the sacred principle

we defend, it is necessary that such disorders should cease.

Everything must be great in Rome : alike the energy in battle, and the conduct of the people after victory.

The weapons of those who dwell amid the eternal monuments of their fathers' greatness, may not be turned against the unarmed, nor used to enforce arbitrary acts. The repose of Rome should be as the repose of the lion, a repose as majestic as his rage is terrible.

Romans ! Your Triumvirs have solemnly pledged themselves to prove to Europe that you are superior to your assailants,—that the accusations cast upon you are calumnious,—that the Republican principle has destroyed the germs of anarchy sown by the former Government, and to which the renewal of the past alone could give life,—that you are not only brave but virtuous, that law and courage are in your eyes the breath and soul of the Republic.

On these conditions your Triumvirs are proud to remain at your head ; on these conditions, they will, if need be, join you on the barricades. Be these conditions inviolable as the love that unites the people with its government, as the resolution of both people and government to maintain the banner of the Republic unsullied and pure from every stain.

Persons are inviolable. The Government alone has the right to punish.

Property is inviolable. Every stone of Rome is sacred. The Government alone has the right to modify the inviolability of property when public utility renders it necessary.

No one is allowed to make arrests, or domiciliary perquisitions, without the direction or assistance of the head of a military post.

Foreigners are under the special protection of the Republic. All the citizens are responsible for the reality of this protection.

The military commission recently organised, will

deliver speedy judgment, according to the necessities of the exceptional state of affairs and the public safety, upon all acts of sedition, reaction, anarchy, or violation of the laws.

The national guard, which has shown itself ready to fight for the Republic, will also be ready to keep our honour pure from all reproach in the face of Europe. The national guard is specially charged with the preservation of order, and with the execution of the above-mentioned regulations.

4th May 1849

XIII.

Whereas Rome and the French people are not and cannot be at war with each other ;

Whereas Rome, in virtue of her right and her duty, defends her inviolability, but deplores every attack directed against the two Republics as a crime against their common faith ; Whereas, the Roman People does not regard soldiers who fought from obedience, responsible for the actions of a mistaken government ;

The Triumvirate decrees :—

Article 1. The French prisoners taken on the 30th of April are free, and shall be sent back to the French camp.

Article 2. The Roman people will, at noon, bid a fraternal adieu to the brave soldiers of the French Republic, our sister.

7th May 1849.

XIV.

Soldiers of the French Republic.

You are for the second time led as enemies beneath the walls of Rome, of the republican city that was at once the cradle of liberty and of military valour.

Your leaders are urging you to fratricide.

And that fratricide, were it possible to effect it, would be a mortal blow to the liberties of France. The peoples are securities for one another. The destruction of our

Republic would leave an ineffaceable stain upon your banner, would deprive France of an ally in Europe, would be a new step taken upon the path of monarchical restoration, towards which your great and beautiful country is being led by a government either deceiving or deceived.

Rome, therefore, will fight as she has fought. She knows how to fight for your liberty and for her own.

Soldiers of the French Republic, while you are advancing against our tri-coloured flag, the Russians, the men of 1815, are advancing against Hungary and looking towards France.

A few miles distant from you, a body of Neapolitan troops, defeated by us a few days since, yet bears aloft the flag of despotism and intolerance. A few leagues to our left, Leghorn, another republican city, is, at this present writing, engaged in resisting an Austrian invasion. Your post is there.

Tell your leaders to fulfil what they said to you. Remind them that they promised in Marseilles and Toulon to lead you against the Croats. Remind them that French soldiers bear the honour and liberties of France upon the point of their bayonets.

French soldiers ! soldiers of liberty ! Do not attack men who are your brothers. May the two tri-colour banners intertwined advance to the emancipation of the peoples and the destruction of tyranny ! God, France, and Italy will bless your arms.

Long live the French Republic ! long live the Roman Republic !

10th May 1849.

XV.

LETTER TO M. LESSEPS.*

Plenipotentiary of the French Republic.

Sir,—You have asked us for some notes as to the

* The negotiations of M. Lesseps, the French Envoy, with the Assembly and Government of the Republic, formed as we all know,

present condition of the Roman Republic. You shall have them from me, dictated with the sincerity which has been my inviolable rule during twenty years of political life. We have no reason to hide or to mask anything. We have been lately the object of strange calumnies in Europe; but our answer to those who have listened to these calumnies has always been, *come and see*. You, sir, are now amongst us; you are sent to verify the truth of these accusations—do so. Your mission may be fulfilled with perfect freedom. We, all of us, heard of that mission with pleasure, because it can only result in our justification.

France undoubtedly does not intend to dispute our right to govern ourselves as we choose; the right of drawing from the heart of the country, so to speak, the ruling idea of that country's life, and making of it the foundation of our institutions. France cannot intend other than to say to us: "While I recognise your independence, it is my duty to ascertain that it is the

a very important element in the history of the invasion. Of a more candid and honourable disposition than the General with whom he came to co-operate; M. Lesseps had no sooner arrived in Rome, on the 15th of May, and examined matters for himself, than he became convinced that the French Government had proceeded on a complete mistake if they had imagined that the people of Rome were willing to accept a French settlement of their national crisis. After his first glance at the state of affairs, he wrote to General Oudinot as follows:—

"In the critical situation we are in, it appears to me extremely important to avoid every species of engagement. I see a whole town in arms. . . . I find here, at the first glance, the aspect of a population determined to resist; and rejecting all exaggerated estimates, one may reckon on at least about 25,000 serious combatants. If we enter by sheer force into Rome, we shall pass, not only over the bodies of some foreign adventurers, *but we shall leave on the pavement men of the middle class, shopkeepers, and young men of family—all those classes, in short, that defend order and society in Paris.*"

"Ma Mission à Rome" Memoire présenté au Conseil d'Etat, page 23. Par Ferdinand Lesseps."

(Tract No. 11 published by the Society of the Friends of Italy.)

result of the free and spontaneous vote of the majority. Bound as I am to the other Governments of Europe and desirous of peace,—should I find it true that a minority among you are holding in check the wishes of the Nation—if it should prove true that your actual form of Government is the mere caprice of a faction substituted for the common will, I could not see with indifference the peace of Europe continually endangered by the passions and anarchy inseparable from every Government of Faction.”

We concede this right to France, because we believe in the solidarity of nations in the cause of good. But at the same time we affirm that if ever there existed a Government sprung from the will of the majority, ours is that Government.

The Republic was implanted amongst us by the will of an Assembly sprung from universal suffrage; it has been received with enthusiasm, and has encountered no opposition. And observe, Monsieur, that never would opposition have been easier, never less dangerous—I will even say never so provoked,—not indeed by the acts of the Government—but by the peculiarly unfavourable circumstances in which it was placed at its commencement.

The country emerged from the long anarchy inherent in the inmost organisation of the fallen Government. The agitations inseparable from every great change, fomented by the emergencies of the Italian question, and by the efforts of the retrograde party, had thrown it into a state of feverish agitation, which laid it open to any daring enterprise, to any appeal to interests and passions. We had no army—no repressive force; and in consequence of past abuses, our finances were impoverished—exhausted. The religious question, handled by able and interested men, might have served as a pretext for agitation among a population gifted with magnificent instincts and aspirations, but unenlightened. Nevertheless, as soon as the republican principle was

proclaimed, one first incontestable *fact* became evident, ORDER.

The history of the Papal Government offers constant periodical *émeutes*; the story of the Republic not a single one. The assassination of Rossi,* a fact deplorable but isolated—an individual excess, rejected, condemned by all, provoked, perhaps, by his own imprudent conduct, and the authorship of which remains unknown, was followed by order the most complete.

In the meantime the financial crisis increased. By the most culpable intrigues, the credit of the paper of the Republic had been lowered to such an extent that it could only be discounted at 41 or 42 per cent. The bearing of the other governments of Italy and of Europe became more and more hostile towards us. These material difficulties and our political isolation failed to disturb the tranquillity of our people. They had an unshaken faith in the future results of the new principle.

Now, in the midst of the actual crisis, in the face of French, Austrian, and Neapolitan invasion, our credit is improving; our paper is only at 12% discount, our army is daily augmented, and our populations are making ready to act as our reserve.

You see Rome, Sir, and you know of the heroic struggle sustained by Bologna. I am writing alone, in the midst of the most profound tranquillity. The garrison quitted the town yesterday evening, and, before the arrival of new troops, at midnight, our gates, our walls, our barricades, were, by a simple word passed from mouth to mouth, manned, without noise, without boasting, by the people in arms. Deep in the very heart of this

* The assassination of Rossi took place on the 15th of November, in the last days of Papal dominion, more than three months before the formation of the Republic. It was committed amid the acclamations that hailed the Mamiani Ministry, and followed by the Cabinet of which he was president. It should not in justice be forgotten that the ministry repudiated all knowledge of, or connection with that act. Mazzini was at that time in Switzerland, and did not arrive in Rome until four months later.—(*Translator.*)

people there is a clear determinate resolve—the abolition of the temporal power invested in the Pope ;—a hatred of the Government of the Priests, in whatsoever mitigated or altered form it may be presented. Hatred, I say, not of the men, but of the Government.

Towards individuals, our people have always, thank God, shown themselves generous, since the establishment of the Republic ; but the mere idea of the clerical government, of the king-priest, makes them thrill with indignation. They will struggle with energy against every project of restoration. They will rush into schism* sooner than submit.

Partly in consequence of certain obscure threats, but more from the absence of all the habits of political life, a certain number of electors had abstained from voting at the time of the election of the Assembly.

This fact appeared to weaken the expression of the general will. A second fact, decisive and vital, put an end to all possibility of doubt a short time since.

Shortly before the constitution of the Triumvirate, the re-election of the Municipalities occurred. The universality of electors presented themselves to vote.

* The effect produced by these words upon M. Lesseps may be inferred from the following extract :—

“ A first message sent to the Roman Assembly had for its object to direct its attention to manœuvres, which I believe to be contrary to the influence of France, as well as to the interests of Italy. These manœuvres concerned the great question of a religious schism, or a new Protestantism. The following note, which I transcribe from my memorandum-book, indicates the motives of my procedure. ‘ I suspect Mazzini—a remarkable and very influential man—of wishing to favour a religious schism : his writings ought to make one fear it. He has frequent conferences with English travellers ; he sees Protestant Missionaries of all nations. To seek to remove him from these influences, and to persuade him that France, which he distrusts, ought to be the sole hope of Italian liberty ; to turn him from his ideas of schism, and, if need be, to denounce those tendencies to the patriots of the Assembly, making them regard them as treason to the cause of Italian liberty, which cannot exist apart from Catholicism.’ ”

“ *Ma Mission à Rome,*” p. 38.—*Translator's Note.*

The municipal element always and everywhere represents the conservative element of a State. Some feared that through it a spirit of retrogression might be introduced amongst us.

Well, amid the roar of the tempest around us,—after the intervention had taken place,—while all appearances appeared to limit the existence of the Republic to days alone,—the municipalities sent in the most complete and spontaneous adhesion to the form of government chosen. To the addresses sent up from the various clubs, and from the headquarters of the National Guard, were added, in the early part of the present month, those of all the municipalities with the exception of two or three. I have the honour, Sir, to forward you the list. They explicitly declare their devotion to the Republic, and their conviction that the two powers* are incompatible in one individual. This is, allow me to repeat it, a decisive fact; a second legal proof confirming the first, and forming the indestructible basis of our right.

When the two questions—the Republic and the abolition of the Temporal Power—were put to the Assembly, a few of the members, more timid than their colleagues, thought that the inauguration of the Republic in the face of the actual organisation of Europe, was premature and rash; but there was not a single vote against the dethronement of the King-Priest; both the right and the left were united in that idea.

Could a free government dare to propose to such a people a return to the past, without being guilty of crime and inconsistency? That return—reflect on this Sir—would be equivalent to a renewal of the former disorders, to the formation of *secret societies* for purposes of resistance, to anarchy in the heart of Italy, to a spirit of vengeance awakened in a people which now asks only to forget. That return would light a flame of permanent warfare in Europe; it would be the programme of the extreme parties substituted for the organized Republic

* The Temporal and Spiritual Powers.

we represent. Can France desire this? Can her Government desire it? Can the nephew of Napoleon? Their persistence in hostile designs in the face of the Neapolitan and Austrian invasion, would recall the dismemberment of Poland. And remember, moreover, Sir, that such designs could only be realised by planting the banner which the people have overthrown upon a heap of corpses, upon the ruins of our city.

You will shortly receive another letter from me upon this subject.

16th May 1849.

XVI.

(Letter accompanying the rejection of the three following propositions of Lesseps :

1. *The Roman States request the fraternal protection of the French Republic :*

2. *The Roman populations have the right of freely deciding upon their form of Government :*

3. *Rome will receive the French army as an army of brothers, etc.)*

Sir,—We have the honour to transmit to you the decision of the Assembly with regard to the project communicated by you to the commission. The Assembly is unable to accept it. We are desirous to express to you the regret felt by the Assembly, and the reasons which have determined its refusal.

And it is with deep sorrow, natural to men who love France and still trust her, that we, Sir, fulfil the duty entrusted to us.

When, after the decree of your Assembly which *required the Government at once to take measures to prevent the Italian expedition from being diverted from its professed aim*, we heard of your arrival, our hearts bounded with joy. We believed in the immediate reconciliation in one sole principle—the principle proclaimed by us and by yourselves—of two peoples, whose naturally friendly dispositions towards each other, whose memories,

common interest, and political position inclined them to affection and esteem. We thought that, having been chosen to verify the state of things, and struck by the absolute harmony that links the various elements of our state in one, your communications would have destroyed the only obstacle to our wishes, and the only doubt able to delay France in the fulfilment of the noble idea expressed by the decision of your Assembly.

Harmony, internal peace, a well-weighed determination, enthusiasm and generosity of conduct, the voluntary and formal vote of our municipalities, national guard, troops, people, government, and sovereign assembly in favour of the existing system of institution,—all these things have been made evident to you. You have declared this, no doubt, to France ; and we had therefore good right to hope that, speaking in the name of France, you would have addressed us in terms very different from those contained in your project.

The Assembly has observed the manner in which the words *Roman Republic* are studiously avoided in your first article ; and has inferred from their suppression an unfavourable intention towards it.

It appeared to the Assembly that, with the exception of the greater importance given to it by your name and authority, your project contained little more than was contained in certain acts of the General, previous to the 30th April. Having irrefutably ascertained the opinion of our people, why persist in insulting them by the proposal of occupying Rome ? Rome has no need of protection : there are no combatants within her walls, and should any enemy approach them from without, Rome will defend herself with her own forces. Rome is at present able to protect herself upon her Tuscan frontier, and in Bologna. The Assembly has therefore seen in your third article a political intention, which it cannot think of accepting ; less than ever since the decree of the French Assembly, showing it to be decidedly adverse to an occupation which circumstances neither provoke nor require.

We cannot conceal from you, Sir, that the disastrous coincidence of the information received relating to the circle of our defence, has contributed to the decision of the Assembly. A nucleus of the French army has this very day passed the Tiber in violation of the spirit of the truce, and thus narrowed the circle of military operations around the capital. Nor is this, Sir, an isolated act. The popular distrust already excited by the idea of seeing the city occupied by foreigners, is so much increased as to render very difficult, if not impossible, any compromise in a matter which the Assembly, on its part, regards as vital to our dignity and independence.

For this and other reasons, the project has unwillingly been judged inadmissible by the Assembly. We shall have the honour of transmitting to you, Sir, to-morrow, in fulfilment of its instructions, a proposition, inferior, certainly, to our just hopes, but which would at least have the advantage of removing all danger of collision between two Republics founded upon identical rights and similar aspirations—Receive, Sir, &c.

19th May 1849.

XVII.

Romans!—Yesterday some among you, moved by rumours of new dangers, have, in a moment of unreflecting zeal, seized upon some of the confessionals belonging to the churches, for the purpose of using them as barricades.

The act would be serious and deserving of punishment, were we not to take in consideration your intentions.

You intended by that demonstration once more to prove that all things are possible in Rome except the re-establishment of the priestly government. You desired to give expression to the idea that there is not, there cannot be any true religion in a country which is not free; and that the cause of our free and immortal souls is centred in the citizens' barricades.

But the enemies of our holy republic, in every part of

Europe, are on the watch to give evil interpretation to your actions, and to accuse the people of irreverence and irreligion. He who should furnish any ground for such accusations would be a traitor to his country. Romans ! Your city is great and inviolable among all the cities of Europe, because it was the cradle and guardian of religion. God protects and will protect the Republic, because its sacred name is never divided from that of the people ; and because we are fighting for His law of liberty and love, while elsewhere men fight for interest and ambition, which profane and destroy every religion. In those churches, sanctuaries of the religion of our fathers, prayers will be raised while we are fighting, to the God of the redeemed.

From those confessionals, whence too often have issued words of corruption and slavery, in violation of the teachings of Christ—will also go forth—forget it not—words of consolation to the aged mothers of those who are fighting for the Republic.

Brothers in the blessed cause of God and the People—Your Triumvirs ask from you a proof of trust, in answer to the accusations to which an imprudent act has given rise. Do you yourselves carry back to the churches the confessionals which yesterday you removed from them * The citizens' barricades will be defended by their breasts.

20th May 1849.

XVIII.

Peoples of the Republic !—The Austrian is advancing. Bologna has fallen—fallen after eight days of sublime valour and sacrifice ; she fell as others triumph. Let her last cry be the cry of war and vengeance for us all ; let every Italian heart take it up as a sacred legacy. Citizens ! Rome asks from you a supreme effort : she asks it with the certainty that it will be made ; for the blood shed by her sons on the 30th has authorised her to make the claim.

By sending in your adhesion to our programme when

* The confessionals were immediately taken back to the churches by the people.—*Translator's Note.*

the danger had already begun, you have borne solemn testimony before Italy and Europe to your community of faith with us. We now ask of you another proof—that of action. Be every man ready to seal his testimony with his blood. Let every city, every village, every homestead arise to avenge Bologna. Let every steeple sound a knell; the doom decreed by the people to their foreign invaders. From gorge to gorge upon your mountains, kindle as symbol of fraternal anger the fires that in 1847 were the signal of revolution. Let the red flag float from every steeple and tower on every side. Let the rage of battle thrill from land to land, from homestead to homestead. Let the enemy, let Italy, let Europe know that here, in the heart of the Peninsula, are three millions of men bound together by a solemn oath to resist; irrevocably resolved to fight to the last; to bury themselves beneath the ruins of their country rather than yield. And while heaven stands no human power can forbid our victory. Three millions of the people are omnipotent when they declare: we *will*. Italians, sons of Rome! Soldiers of the Republic! this is a solemn hour, elaborated by the ages, one of those historic moments which decree the life or death of a people.

Great and powerful for ever, or stamped for ever with the sign of slavery; recognised by the nations as free men and brothers; or condemned to the nullity of men governed by the caprice of others; masters of yourselves, of your own homes, your own altars and your own sepulchres, or chattels, the by-word of every tyrant; destined to an immortality of glory or of shame—the choice rests with yourselves. You will be judged by God and man according to your choice.

Be great—decree your victory. The people gave victory to Spain, to Greece, to Switzerland; let the people give it to Italy. Let your chief magistrates and the extraordinary commissioners organize the insurrection; let them assemble from province to province, carry round and interpret the inspiration of Rome.

let them assume exceptional powers and decree extreme remedies in cases of extreme peril. Let the chief who hesitates or capitulates before giving battle, be declared a criminal: the province that allows the enemy to enter unresisted, be cancelled from the list of the republican territories. Let him who does not in some way struggle against the enemy, be infamous: let him who, were it even for an instant, takes part with them, be deprived for ever either of his country or his life. Let those who yield up any material of war to the enemy, be chastised; chastised all who do not endeavour to rob them of food, lodging, and rest—chastised all who do not abandon, if able, the soil they tread. Let the army bearing a foreign flag find itself encircled by a circle of fire, or a desert. Let the Republic, hitherto gentle and generous, arise tremendous and terrible in anger. Rome will stand firm.

21st May 1849.

XIX.

TO M. LESSEPS.

Sir,—I had the honour to transmit to you in my note of the 16th, some details as to the unanimity which marked the inauguration of the Republic. It is now necessary to speak to you of the actual question as it exists *de facto* if not *de jure*, between the French Government and our own.

You will, we hope, allow us to speak with the frankness required equally by the urgency of the case, and those international sympathies which should animate the relations between France and Italy. Our only diplomacy consists of truth; and the character given to your mission, is, Sir, a pledge that what we have to say will be received in the best possible spirit. Allow me to go back for a moment to the origin of the present state of things.

After certain conferences and arrangements, which took place some time back between the Europea

Catholic Powers, without the Roman Government being called upon to take any part therein, it was decided :—

1st, That a political modification in the government and institutions of the Roman State had become necessary ; 2d, That the basis of this modification should be the return of Pius IX., not only as Pope—to this we offer no opposition—but as temporal sovereign and prince ; 3d, That if in order to achieve this aim an intervention were necessary, that intervention should take place.

We are happy to admit that while the sole aim of some of the parties to this agreement was a dream of the re-edification and absolute return to the treaties of 1815, the French Government was only drawn into the agreement in consequence of erroneous information, depicting the Roman States as a prey to anarchy and to a state of terror exercised by an audacious minority.

We know, moreover, that in the proposed modification, the French Government intended to represent a more or less liberal influence, opposed to the despotic programme of Naples and Austria. Nevertheless, whether in a tyrannical or constitutional form, with or without the guarantees of a certain amount of liberty to the Roman population,—the predominating idea of all the contracting parties was a return towards the past ; a compromise between Pius IX., considered as Temporal Sovereign, and the Roman people. The French invasion was—it would be useless to conceal the fact—planned and executed with this idea. Its double purpose was, on the one hand, to cast the sword of France into the balance of the agreement to be initiated in Rome ; and on the other hand to ensure the Roman people against all retrograde excesses ; but always regarding the re-constitution of a Constitutional Monarchy in favour of the Pope, as a fundamental point. This purpose is clearly proved, not only by the exact details we have had of the anterior negotiations, but also by the proclamations of General Oudinot, the formal declarations

of all the Envoys sent one after the other to the Triumvirate, and the obstinate silence maintained whenever we have attempted to treat the political question, and to obtain a formal declaration of the fact certified in our note of the 16th—namely, *that the institutions by which the Roman people are actually governed, are the free and spontaneous expression of the inviolable will of the people legally interrogated.* And the vote of the French Assembly implicitly confirms the fact we assert.

In the face of such a state of things, in the face of the menace of a compromise which could not be accepted, and of negotiations which are in no way warranted by the condition of our populations, our course could not be doubtful. Resistance was a duty alike towards our country, towards France, and towards Europe.

We were bound, in order to fulfil a mandate loyally bestowed and loyally accepted, to maintain to the utmost of our power the inviolability of our country, of its territory, and of the institutions unanimously proclaimed by all the powers and elements of the State.

We were bound to gain sufficient time to enable us to appeal from France deceived, to France better informed, and to spare the sister Republic the remorse of having, by yielding to foreign influence, rendered herself an accomplice in an act of violence and oppression which has no parallel save the first dismemberment of Poland.

And we owed it to Europe to bear our testimony as far as in us lay, in favour of the fundamental principle of all international life,—the independence of each people in all that regards its internal administration. By resisting with enthusiasm the attempts of the Neapolitan Monarchy and our eternal enemy Austria,—by resisting, with deep sorrow, the arms of France, we are proud to declare that we have deserved well not only of yourselves, but of the peoples of Europe.

You are aware, Sir, of the events that followed after the French intervention. Our territory was invaded by

the troops of the King of Naples, and 4000 Spaniards set sail (probably on the 17th) to attack our coasts. The Austrians, having overcome the heroic resistance of Bologna, are advancing upon the Romagna, and threaten Ancona. We have repulsed from our territory the forces of the King of Naples. We shall do the same—such is our conviction—with the Austrian forces, if the attitude of the French troops do not prevent us from acting.

We speak in sorrow. But it is necessary that France should at last know the true results of the expedition to Civita Vecchia, which was undertaken, if we are to believe the assertions made to us, with a view of protecting us.

We declare, Sir, that of all the interventions undertaken to our injury, the intervention of France has been the most fatal to us. We are willing to fight the troops of the King of Naples and the Austrians; we are unwilling to fight the French. As regards them we are not in a state of *war*, but merely of *defence*. Such will continue to be our attitude whenever we find ourselves confronted with France. But that attitude—it is useless to deny it—has for us all the evils of war, without any of its possible advantages.

The French expedition rendered indispensable that concentration of our forces which laid open our frontier to the Austrian invasion, and left Bologna and the cities of Romagna disarmed. The Austrians took advantage of this. After a struggle heroically sustained for eight days by the population, Bologna was compelled to succumb.

We purchased arms for our defence in France; 10,000 of these muskets were sequestered between Civita Vecchia and Marseilles; they are in your hands. By depriving us of these arms, you have deprived us of 10,000 soldiers, because every armed man would have become a soldier against the Austrians.

Your forces are posted within gunshot distance beneath our walls, in order of siege. They obstinately maintain that threatening position without any declared

aim or programme ; obliging us to maintain the city in a state of defence, which is financially very heavy upon us, and taking away all possibility of sending our troops to preserve our provinces from the occupation and devastation of Austria

Were our people less good and devoted, the excited state of men's minds might lead to fatal consequences. If the attitude of your troops has not given rise to anarchy or reaction, it is simply because neither is possible in Rome ; but it does produce great irritation against France ; and that is a great misfortune for us, who have hitherto regarded her with affection and hope.

We are besieged, Sir, besieged by France under cover of a mission of protection, while at a few leagues' distance the King of Naples is carrying off our hostages, and the Austrians are massacring our brothers.

You, Sir, have made propositions. Those propositions were declared inadmissible by the Assembly, and it would be useless for us to discuss them. To day you have added another to them. France, you say, *will protect against foreign invasion all those portions of the Roman territory occupied by her troops.* This fourth proposition in no way changes our position. The portion of territory you occupy is already protected, by that fact, against every other invasion, but if viewed with regard to the present, that portion is of the very smallest importance ; and if viewed with regard to the future, have we no other means of protecting our soil save that of abandoning the whole of it to you ?

But this is not the true point of the question : the whole question lies in the occupation of Rome. And this is the condition placed by you at the head of all your propositions. Now we have the honour to tell you, Sir, that that condition is impossible ; our people would never consent to it. If the aim of the occupation of Rome be no other than that of protecting her, our people will be grateful to you, but will tell you that being able to protect Rome themselves, they would

regard themselves as dishonoured in your eyes if they were to declare themselves so impotent as to render the aid of a few French regiments necessary for the defence of their city. If the occupation of Rome has—which God forbid—a political aim, the people, who have freely chosen their institutions, cannot submit to accept it. Rome is their capital, their palladium, their sacred city. They know that the occupation would not only entail a principle violated, and honour betrayed, but produce a civil war. And all insistence on your part augments their suspicion ; they foresee that if foreign troops were admitted, the inevitable result would be a change both of institutions and of men, fatal to their liberties.

The people have the example of Civita Vecchia before their eyes, and they know that if once surrounded by foreign bayonets, the independence of the Assembly and the Government would be an empty name.

Upon that point, Sir, you may believe me, their determination is irrevocable. They will never succumb until they have covered their barricades with corpses. Will, can, the French soldiers massacre a people of brothers whom they declare themselves come to protect, because they refuse to yield up their capital to their arms ?

France has only three courses before her in the Roman States.

To declare herself with us, against us, or neutral. To declare herself with us signifies that she must formally recognise our republic, and combat side by side with our troops against Austria.

To declare herself against us signifies to crush for no reason the national life of a friendly nation, and to fight side by side with Austria.

France *cannot* do this, and she *will* not risk involving herself in an European war in order to defend us as an ally. Let her then remain neutral in the struggle we have to sustain. A short time back we hoped other things of her ; now, this is all we ask of her.

The occupation of Civita Vecchia is an accomplished fact. France believes that in the actual state of things, it does not become her to remain at a distance from the field of battle; and she thinks that, whether as conquerors or conquered, we may have need of her protection and moderating influence. We do not believe this; but we shall not re-act against her for this; let her then keep Civita Vecchia; let her extend, if the number of her troops renders it necessary, her cantonments in that salubrious territory lying between Civita Vecchia and Viterbo,—and let her await, unmoved, the final issue of our war. We offer her all the facilities possible, and every possible proof of loyal friendship. Her officers will be permitted to enter Rome as visitors; her soldiers shall receive, if need be, both assistance and comfort from us; but let her neutrality be sincere and without disguise, frankly and explicitly declared. Let her leave us free to dispose of our forces without fear of her. Let her give us back the arms we purchased. Let not her ships close our ports to those Italians who may come from other parts of Italy to share our dangers. Let her remove all her troops from beneath our walls, and thus cease all appearance of hostility between two peoples destined, we cannot doubt it, in future years to be united in the same international faith, as they are even now united in the adoption of the same form of Government.—Accept, Sir, etc.

25th May 1849.

XX.

Whereas it is the duty of Rome, both from her past traditions and her future mission, to extend as far as possible her own life and liberty to all those who suffer, combat, and hope in the cause of the nations and of humanity;

Whereas through her sufferings, her energy in sacrifice, and her immortal hopes, Poland is sister to Italy and sacred among the nations;

Whereas the Polish exiles are the representatives of the Poland of the future ;

The Triumvirate decrees :—

1. A Polish legion is formed upon the Roman territory, which will combat beneath the Roman standard for Italian independence.

2. The legion will adopt their own national flag, with the Italian tricolor scarf. The word of command will be in Polish, the uniform, etc.

3. The legion will consist of two thousand men and upwards.

The Government of the Republic will, if necessary, provide means of transport for the recruits. Slavonians joining the Republican army will be incorporated in this legion.

4. The legion will elect its own officers. The military chief will present the list of names to the Government, who will then make choice. The Commander must be a Pole, elected by universal suffrage among the troops.

5. The pay of the legion will be the same as that of the Roman army. Those wounded or mutilated in defending the Republic will have the same rights as the wounded or mutilated citizens of the State.

6. The legion will be bound to one year's service, with power to prolong their obligations to military service from year to year for six years.

Should the Polish war of independence recommence, so that the legion should be able to consecrate their services to their own country, they will be free to do so, and to quit the territory of the Republic, first giving the Government notice of their intention.

29th May 1849.

XXI.

[Answer to the Declaration of Lesseps of May 29, reproducing, with slight alterations, the same propositions alluded to in document No. xvi.]

Sir,—We have received the declaration sent by you on the 29th May. As the Assembly, to whom a copy of that declaration was transmitted, has reconfirmed the authority already given us to negotiate, the duty of answering you devolves upon us, and we hasten to fulfil it. If we have delayed answering your note of the 26th, be good enough to remember that it neither contained any proposition made in the name of France, nor discussed those sent by ourselves.

We have carefully examined your propositions, and the following are the modifications we propose. They are rather modifications in form than in substance :—

We might develop at length the causes of the changes we propose—changes required, we beg you to believe, not only by the instructions we have received from the Assembly, but also by the explicit vote of our people, against whose will any convention would be impossible ; but time presses, and we cannot therefore enter into details. We prefer to trust to your own good faith and to the favour with which you have already shown us that you regard our cause and our acts, to supply this omission. Ours, Sir, is not, it cannot be, *diplomacy* ; it is a frank and cordial appeal from a people to a people, made without menace, and without hidden design. France above all other nations, is capable of hearing and understanding that appeal.

It would be inconceivable that the abnormal state of things now existing between the French Republic and ourselves should continue ; especially after the recent declarations of your Assembly, and recent manifestations of your people with regard to us. And the proposal tending to put a stop to that state of things, is sent to you, Sir, with all the earnestness of conviction and of purpose of which we are capable. Accept it as sacred, for it is the summing up of the unalterable faith and warmest wishes of a people, small in numbers, but brave and loyal ; who remember who their fathers were, and the deeds they did on earth, and who, in combating

now for the sacred cause of liberty and independence, are irrevocably resolved to be worthy of them. This people, Sir, has a right to be understood by France, and to find in her a support, and not a hostile power. They have a right to receive from her, not *protection*, but *fraternity*. Any demand for protection uttered by this people would be interpreted by Europe as a cry of despair, as a declaration of impotence, rendering them unworthy of that friendship from France upon which they had relied until recent events. No cry of despair will ever issue from their lips. There is no impotence for a people that knows how to die; and it would ill become a great and generous nation to misconceive the noble motives of the people of Rome.

It is necessary, Sir, that this state of things should cease. At present, *fraternity* between us is an empty word, void of all practical meaning. Let it become a reality. Allow our couriers, our arms, and our troops, to pass as freely over our territory as is necessary for our defence. Let not the Romans be compelled, as now, to regard with suspicion men whom they have been accustomed to consider as friends. Leave the path open for us to use all our means of defence against the Austrians, who are bombarding our cities. Let there be no longer any doubt as to the righteous and loyal intentions of France. Let it no longer be possible for Europe to declare that France takes from us the means of defending ourselves, in order hereafter to impose upon us a protection through which our territory would be preserved from violation by others, through the loss of the things we hold most dear—our liberty and our honour.

Do this, Sir. The difficulties which now divide us will disappear; the affection, now lost, will revive; and France will again acquire that right to offer us counsel, of which her present hostile attitude deprives her.

The cantonments which we think most suitable, extend along the line from Frascati to Velletri.—Accept, Sir, etc.

30th May 1849.

The following are our proposals :—

1st, The Romans, confiding now as formerly in the fraternal support of the French Republic, require the cessation of all real or apparent hostility, and the establishment of such relations as shall evidence that fraternal support.

2d, The 5th Article of the French Constitution is for Romans a guarantee of the free exercise of their political rights.

3d, The French army shall be regarded by the Romans as a friendly army, and received as such according to an agreement to be made with the Government of the Roman Republic; they will be stationed in suitable cantonments, adapted alike to the necessities of the defence of the country, and the health of the troops. The French army will remain extraneous to the administration of the country. Rome is sacred alike to friends and foes. The city will form no part of the cantonments of the French troops. Her brave people are her best defence.

4th, The French Republic will defend the territory occupied by its troops against all foreign invasion.

XXII.

[The above proposals having been, with some slight modification in form, accepted by the French Plenipotentiary, M. Lesseps—General Oudinot—alleging that he had secret instructions—refused to ratify the agreement, broke the truce, and signified his intention to besiege the city; promising, however, that he would not begin the attack before Monday. He then began the attack *on the night between Saturday and Sunday.*]

Romans.—To the crime of assailing a friendly Republic with Republican troops, General Oudinot has added the infamy of treachery. He has violated his written promise, now in our hands, *that he would not commence the attack before Monday.*

Romans, arise! To the walls, to the gates, to the barricades! Let us show the enemy that not even treachery can vanquish Rome.

Let the whole city rise up with the energy of one sole idea. Let every man fight, and every man have faith in victory. Remember your fathers and be great.

Let right triumph, and eternal infamy weigh upon the ally of Austria! Long live the Republic!

3d June 1849.

XXIII.

Romans.—You have sustained the honour of Rome, the honour of Italy. For more than fourteen hours you have fought like veteran troops. Suddenly surprised by treachery, by the violation of a promise formally signed, you have contested the ground inch by inch, regained positions for an instant lost, repulsed the bravest troops in Europe, and met death with a smile. May God bless you, guardians of the honour of your forefathers, as we, proud of having rightly judged the elements of greatness within you, bless you in the name of Italy.

Romans! this day is a day of heroes, a page of history.

Yesterday we said to you, be great; to-day we say to you, *you are great*. Continue such. Be constant.

Of the Roman people one may ask miracles. And we say with perfect trust in the people, in the National Guard, and in the youth of every class, that Rome is inviolable. Watch over her walls this night; within those walls is the future of the nation. Watch while they who for fourteen hours have fought, repose. To the gates! to the barricades! The angel of your land watches with you; and the angel of your land is the angel of the Italian nation. Long live the Republic!

3d June 1849.

XXIV.

Roman daughters of the people,—Your husbands, brothers, and sons, are fighting your country's enemies

upon the walls; you have a right to the love and protection of your country. The enemy who retreated yesterday before our men, now threaten your dwellings with their bombs. You are Romans; you cannot tremble at their impotent threats. Our troops will hold the enemy afar; they will, if need be, join your dear ones on the barricades; but Rome owes protection to the aged mothers, and to the children of her defenders. The Triumvirate therefore decrees:—

Those families of the people whose houses may be endangered by the bombardment, during the siege of to-morrow—shall to-morrow, or, if need be, before, be lodged by the Government in such houses, palaces, or convents, as are out of all danger.

The representatives of the people in every quarter of the city shall receive their applications for lodgings, verify the necessity, and give tickets of admission to the various localities chosen; a list of these will be given to them with the requisite instructions by the Minister of the Interior.

The Triumvirate trusts to the virtue and patriotism of the Roman women to keep vigilant order, and to preserve the habitations assigned to them from injury.

5th June 1849.

XXV.

[The following lines were our answer to a last summons from General Oudinot, when the French were already in possession of the first bastion on the left of the gate of S. Pancrazio.]

We have the honour to transmit to you the answer of the Assembly to your communication of the 12th.

We will never betray our word. In execution of the orders of the Assembly and the Roman people, we have promised to defend the banner of the Republic, the honour of the country, and the sanctity of the capital of the Christian world: we will keep our promise.—Receive, General, etc.

13th June 1849.

XXVI.

[Answer to a letter addressed by M. de Corcelles, envoy extraordinary of the French Republic, to M. de Gerando, Chancellor of the French embassy in Rome. The letter attempted to excuse the flagrant contradiction between the agreement of Lesseps and the assault upon Rome by General Oudinot.]

Sir,—The letter written to you by M. de Corcelles, dated the 13th, and which you have politely communicated to me, does not in any way invalidate, as you must admit, the answer given by the Roman Constituent Assembly to General Oudinot. The date of this or that French dispatch, is of little moment; it is of little moment whether M. Lesseps was or was not recalled at the moment he affixed his signature to the convention of the 31st May.

Everything may be answered in one word: *the Assembly had never had any official communication of those dispatches, and was in ignorance of them.*

The diplomatic question then, as far as we are concerned, may be stated in these terms:—

M. Lesseps was the French plenipotentiary in Rome. He was such to us on the 31st May, as much as he was before. No information or warning had been conveyed to us of any modification or suppression of his powers. We therefore treated with him in perfect good faith, as if treating with France; and to this good faith we owed the occupation of Monte Mario by the French troops on the night of the 28-29th May. Engaged in a perfectly pacific discussion with M. Lesseps; anxious to avoid everything tending to create an impression contrary to the true wishes of our people, and not being able to persuade ourselves that France's mission of protection would be commenced by the siege of Rome, we viewed these incidents unmoved. At every movement of your troops, every operation tending to narrow the military circle, and gradually approach positions which we might have de-

fended, M. Lesseps hastened to assure us that the sole object of the French in those operations was to give a vent to the feverish excitement of the troops, weary of their long inaction; he implored us, in the name of the two countries, in the name of humanity, to avoid all conflict, to trust in him, and to fear no evil consequences from those unusual movements. And we yielded with confidence to his entreaties. At present I am constrained to repent my part in that confidence; not that I fear for Rome, but because now our brave men have to defend with their own breasts, all that those good positions might have defended for them. On the 31st May, at eight o'clock in the evening, the convention between ourselves and M. Lesseps was signed. He carried it with him to the camp, assuring us that he regarded the signature of General Oudinot as a mere formality, about which no doubt could exist. We were all joyful in spirit.

It appeared as if affairs were about to resume their natural course between France and ourselves.

During the night, the dispatch of General Oudinot reached us, refusing his adhesion to the agreement, and declaring that M. Lesseps, in signing it, had exceeded his powers.

A second dispatch, dated the 1st June, 3½ P.M., signed by the General, declared to us that events had justified his determination, and that by two dispatches from the ministry of war and the ministry of foreign affairs, dated 28th and 29th May, the French Government had announced to him the recall of M. Lesseps."

Twenty-four hours were allowed us to accept the *ultimatum* of the 29th May.

You are aware that on the same day M. Lesseps addressed a communication to us, saying: "I maintain the Convention signed yesterday. I am starting for Paris to obtain its ratification. That agreement was concluded in virtue of instructions which empowered me

to occupy myself exclusively with the negotiations and the relations to be established with the authorities and population of Rome."

On the same day, at a late hour, General Oudinot declared to us that he should recommence hostilities, but that, at the request of the Chancellor of the French Embassy, the attack would be deferred until Monday morning at the earliest.

We were attacked on Sunday,* and the consequence of this violation of faith was the occupation of Villa Pamfili, and the surprise of two companies, which will doubtless form part of the *bulletin* of the 3d. Those two hundred men, together with twenty four prisoners made during that day's battle, are now at Bastia, in Corsica.

After these things, pray tell me, Sir, of what import to us is the dispatch of the 26th May, quoted in the letter of M. de Corcelles? What are the dispatches quoted by General Oudinot? We never saw those dispatches; we know not what they contain; we have had no official information of their existence. On the one side we have the affirmation of General Oudinot; on the other that of the minister plenipotentiary—they contradict each other. Let France unfold this coil, and save her own honour if she can. Placed between a minister plenipotentiary, and a General of division, our Assembly has thought fit to conform to the history of the facts established by that plenipotentiary. I agree with its decision, and remind you, Sir, that only to day, the tenth day of the siege, has the presence of M. de Corcelles in the camp, with the attributes of minister extraordinary, been indirectly made known to us.

Reflect, Sir, upon the date of those official notes; compare them with the occupation of Monte Mario, and the other operations of the French army, and then tell us whether, on a calm examination of the diplomatic

* The night between Saturday and Sunday.

question, Europe will not be obliged to say : "The object of the French Government was to deceive the Roman Government. General Oudinot took advantage of the good faith of the Roman Government, to narrow the circle of assault, and occupy favourable positions, so as to facilitate taking possession of the city. Either the dispatch of the 26th has no real existence, or it was not communicated in time to M. Lesseps. The dispatch of the 29th May was in fact known in the French camp on the morning of the 1st June ; that of the 26th might therefore have been in General Oudinot's hands on the 29th. The fact that the General did not then produce it, so as to suspend the negotiations and the powers of the negotiator, suggests the idea that he intended to take advantage of those negotiations, which diminished alike the vigilance and the power of the Roman people, in order, little by little, to make himself master of the best positions without resistance, certain as he was of putting a stop to all negotiations, when it suited him, by revealing the dispatch of the 26th, and to break the truce as soon as he was ready to attack.

Allow me, SIR, to say to you with the freedom that befits a man of a frank and not servile nature, that the conduct of the Roman Government in the negotiations that took place, never departed a single line from the path of honour. The Government of France would find it difficult to affirm so much. This in no way affects France, thank God ; the proud and generous nation is, like ourselves, the victim of a base intrigue.

Your cannon are now thundering against our walls ; your bombs are falling upon the sacred city. France had to-night the honour of killing a poor girl of the Transtevere, sleeping by her sister's side. Our young officers, our improvised soldiers, our people fall beneath your shots to the cry of *Viva la Repubblica !* The brave soldiers of France fall to no cry, in silence, like men dishonoured. I feel sure that there is not a single heart

amongst you that does not secretly declare what your deserters declared to us yesterday: *we know not what voice within us tells us we are fighting against brothers.*

Wherefore this bloodshed among brothers? I know not: you know not. The banner of France has no concern here, she fights against men who love her, and who but a few days since trusted in her. She is seeking to set fire to a city which has in no way injured her, without any political programme, without any determinate aim, without any right to exercise, any duty to fulfil. She is, through her generals, playing the game of Austria, and without having even the evil courage to confess as much. She is dragging her banner through the mud of the conciliabules of Gæta, and shrinking from a frank confession of her work of priestly restoration. M. de Corcelles no longer ventures to speak of anarchy or faction, but writes—like a man disturbed in mind—these senseless words:—

“The aim of France is the liberty of the revered head of the church, the liberty of the Roman states, and the peace of the world!”

We at least know what we are fighting for, and we are strong because we do know it. If France were here to represent a principle among us, one of those ideas which make a nation great, and which made her great in the past, the valour of her sons would not be spent against our youthful soldiers.

It is a sad page, Sir, which your generals are inscribing in the history of France; it is a mortal blow to that papacy you pretend to protect, but which you are really smothering in blood; it is a gulf that cannot be closed, which you are digging between two nations that were meant to advance together for the good of all men, and who have for centuries held out their hands towards each other, eager for fellowship; it is a tremendous violation of that morality which should rule the relations between people and people; of the common faith which should

be their guide ; of the sacred cause of liberty which lives by that faith ; of the future, not of Italy, her sufferings are the baptism of her progress—but of France, which cannot maintain her place in the front rank of the nations save through the manly virtues of good faith and liberty rightly understood.

15th June 1849.

XXVII.

[After the decree of the Assembly ordering the cessation of the defence.]

Romans,—The Triumvirate has voluntarily resigned. The Constituent Assembly will communicate to you the names of their successors.

The Assembly, after the successes obtained yesterday by the enemy, moved by a desire to spare the Romans the last extreme of danger, and to prevent the useless sacrifice of more valuable lives, has decreed that the defence shall be discontinued. The men who have directed the struggle could ill direct the coming state of things. Their mission is practically ended, and they hasten to resign their mandate into the hands of the Assembly.

Romans, brothers,—you have inscribed an indelible page in history, which will remain a proof of the latent energy within you, and of the greatness of your future destiny, of which no power can deprive you. You have given a baptism of glory, and a consecration of noble blood to that new life now dawning upon Italy,—the Collective life ; the life of a people that *wills* to exist, and will exist. Gathered beneath the Republican flag, you have redeemed the honour of our common country, elsewhere contaminated by the arts of the wicked, and by monarchical impotence. Your Triumvirs come back to you as simple citizens, bearing with them a supreme consolation in the consciousness of the purity of their intentions, and the honour of having their names associated with your noble deeds.

A cloud has arisen between you and your future ; a temporary cloud. Stand firm in the consciousness of your rights, and in the faith for which so many of your best men have died armed apostles. God, who has treasured up their blood, is your security. God wills that Rome shall be free and great, and she will be such. Yours is no defeat,—it is the victory of martyrs, whose sepulchre is a stepping-stone to Heaven. When the heaven of your resurrection shall beam above you ; when, at no distant day, the price of the sacrifices you have so cheerfully made in the cause of honour shall be counted to you, may you then remember the men who lived for months your own life, who suffer now in your suffering, and will fight again to-morrow, if it may be, among your ranks. Long live the Roman Republic !

30th June 1849.

XXVIII.

Romans,—Your city has been overcome by brute force, but your rights are neither lessened nor changed. The Roman Republic lives eternally inviolable in the suffrages of the men by whom it was proclaimed ; in the spontaneous adhesion of all the elements of the State ; in the faith of the peoples who have admired our long defence ; in the blood of the martyrs who have fallen beneath our walls for its sake. Our invaders betray their solemn promises as they list. God does not betray. Be you constant and faithful to the faith of your hearts in the trial which He wills you should for a while endure, and do not despair of the future. Brief are the dreams of violence ; infallible the triumph of a people that hopes, combats, and suffers in the cause of justice and holy liberty.

You have given brilliant proof of military courage ; now give proof of moral courage. By all you hold sacred, citizens, keep yourselves incontaminate, free from weak fear or base egotism. Let the division be-

tween yourselves and your invaders remain evident to all men. Let Rome be their camp, not their city. And brand with the name of traitor to Rome, he who from whatever compromise with his own conscience, passes over to the enemy's camp. The destinies of Europe render it impossible that Rome should remain the conquest of France, or of whomsoever.

Let not this French occupation lose its character of violence and conquest. Isolate the enemy. Europe will raise a powerful voice in your favour. Meanwhile, none can hinder the pacific expression of your will. Organize such pacific manifestation. Let your municipalities unceasingly declare with calm firmness *that they voluntarily adhered to the Republican form of government, and the abolition of the Temporal Power of the Pope; and that they regard as illegal whatsoever government be imposed without the free approval of the people:* then, if necessary, let them resign. From every quarter of Rome, from every provincial city, let lists be issued, signed by thousands of names, bearing testimony to the same faith, invoking the same right. In the streets, the theatres, in every place of meeting, let the same cry be heard. *Away with the Government of Priests! Freedom of vote!* After that cry retire. When the Papal arms are again raised, let all who have taken the oath to the Republic, retire from their functions. Thousands cannot be imprisoned; men cannot be compelled to degrade themselves. And you would degrade yourselves, O Romans! you would degrade yourselves for ever, if, after having once declared to Europe that you were determined to be free, and having fought and lost the best men among you to become such, you should resume your slavery and make any compact with defeat.

Your forefathers, Romans, were great, not so much because they knew how to conquer as because they never despaired when overcome.

In the name of God and the People, be you great as

your forefathers. Now, as then, and more than then, you have a world—the Italian world—in your keeping. Your Assembly is not extinct; it is dispersed. Your Triumvirs—their public function suspended by the force of things,—are on the watch for the opportune moment—which will depend on your conduct—in order again to convene the Assembly.

5th July 1849.

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